Abbreviations

AN	*Aṅguttara-Nikāya*
AV	*Atharva-Veda*
AvŚ	*Avadāna-Śataka*
Āy	*Āyārāṅga-sūtra*, erster Śrutaskandha, Text, Analyse und Glossar von Walther Schubring (*AKM*, hrsg. von Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, XI Band, Nr. 4, Leipzig, 1910).
Bhag. G.	*Bhagavad Gītā*
Bṛhad. Up.	*Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*
Chalmers Sn	Lord Chalmers. *Buddha's Teachings, Being the Sutta-Nipāta or Discourse-Collection*. Ed. in the original Pāli text with an English version. Harvard Oriental Series 37. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932.
Chānd. Up.	*Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*
CPS	Ernst Waldschmidt, ed., *Das Catuṣpariṣatsūtra, Eine kanonische Lehrschrift über die Begründung der buddhistischen Gemeinde. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1952, Nr. 2. Teil I, 1952.
CuN	*Culla-Niddesa*
Dhp.	*Dhammapada*
Divyāv.	*Divyāvadāna*. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, ed., *The Divyâvadâna: A collection of early Buddhist legends*. Cambridge: The University Press, 1886.
DN	*Dīgha-Nikāya*
Fausböll Sn	V. Fausböll, tr. *The Sutta-Nipāta*. Vol. 10 of SBE. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1881.
Geiger SN	W. Geiger. *Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Die in Gruppen geordnete Sammlung*, vol. 1. München: Benares Verlag, 1930.
Itiv.	*Itivuttaka*

Notes

Note: *T.* stands for *Taishō Shinshū Daizō-kyō* (a compilation of sacred Buddhist works popularly known as *Taishō Tripiṭaka*), ed. Junjirō Takakusu et al., 55 vols., Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1924–29. The first number after *T.* is the volume number. The second number is the page number. Letters indicate the column.

Introduction: Methods of Investigation

1. Moriz Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2 (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1933), 151–56.

2. For example, H. Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1896), 12–46, relates the life of the Buddha according to the *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka*, vol. 1, 47 ff.).

3. Yūshō Tokuuji, "Bukkyō ni okeru jimpen setsu ni tsuite" (On miracles in Buddhism), *Shūkyō kenkyū*, n.s., 3, no. 4 (1926): 26 ff.

4. The *Mahāvastu* in particular praises the life of Śākyamuni and exhibits a trend toward Mahāyāna in that it speaks of the concepts of *saṃbhogakāya* ("reward body") and *praṇidhāna* ("original vow"). Yoshitaka Hisano, "Daiji no chii to Setsushussebu no Budda-kan" (The position of the *Mahāvastu* and the Lokottaravādin idea of the Buddha), *Shūkyō kenkyū*, n.s., 4, no. 2 (1927): 131–42, and no. 3 (1927): 136–46.

5. The Sanskrit version of the *Saṃghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya* was discovered at Gilgit and published by Raniero Gnoli. Department of Archaeology of Pakistan, Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu. Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins*, ed. Raniero Gnoli with the assistance of T. Venkatacharya (Rome: IsMEO, 1977–78; *SOR*, XLIX, 1, 2).

The *Śayanāsanavastu* and *Adhikaraṇavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya* were mentioned only briefly in the third fascicle of the *Sa-p'o-to-pu-p'i-ni-mo-te-le-ch'ieh* (*T.* 23:582); the complete versions of those texts never found their way to China. Those were discovered at Gilgit and published by Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu. Being the 15th and 16th Sections of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins* (Rome: IsMEO, 1978).

These detailed texts contain much relating to the Buddha legend. Both Sanskrit texts are extremely important, not only for the study of the Buddha legend but also for examining Gotama Buddha as a historical figure.

6. *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih* (*T.* 24:99–144).

7. *DN*, no. 16, *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (vol. 2, p. 151).

8. *DN*, no. 16, *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (vol. 2, p. 151), p. 52.

9. The *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* is an important document for the study of the life of Śākyamuni. Ernst Waldschmidt, ed., *Das Catuṣpariṣatsūtra: Eine kanonische Lehrschrift über die Begründung der buddhistischen Gemeinde. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.* Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1952, Nr. 2, Teil I, 1952. For further information, see Takao Maruyama, "Shishūkyō Catuṣpariṣatsūtra oyobi Kompon setsuissaiubu binaya shukkeji, hasōji no butsuden to sono tokushitsu" (The life of the Buddha and its characteristics revealed in the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* and the *Pravrajyāvastu* and *Saṃghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 10, no. 2 (March 1962): 204–7.

10. The episodes depicted at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have been identified in the light of documentary evidence. See Hideo Kimura, "Bungakuteki tachiba yori mitaru Nāgārujunakonda no chōkoku bijutsu" (Sculptural art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa seen from a literary viewpoint), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 9, no. 2 (March 1962): 7–12.

11. Erich Frauwallner, "The Historical Data We Possess on the Person and the Doctrine of the Buddha," *East and West* 3, no. 4 (January 1957): 309–12.

12. Hermann Oldenberg, *Aus dem alten Indien* (Berlin: Gebruder Paetel, 1910), 46.

13. I discuss the conflict with Devadatta further in my *Genshi Bukkyō no Seiritsu* (Formation of early Buddhism), vol. 14 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1992).

14. For the development and composition process of traditional biographies of the Buddha, see Zennō Ishigami, "Sōōbu ugehen ni arawareta Butsuden ni tsuite– toku ni jūyō jiken ni gentei shite" (The biography of the Buddha in the "Sagāthavagga" of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, limited to the main events), *Sankō bunka kenkyūjo nempō* 3 (1970): 41–62.

15. Survey by Osamu Takata, "Bārufutto no Bukkyō setsuwazu" (Buddhist stories depicted in bas-relief on the stupa railings of Bhārhut), *Bijutsu kenkyū*, no. 242 (1965): 101–22. See also P. H. Pott, "Some Scenes from the Buddha's Life in Stone," *Adyar Library Bulletin* (Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras 20, India) 20: 310–17.

16. Relief from Amarāvatī, second century C.E., Archaeological Museum, Amarāvatī (Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, Ryōjun Satō, ed., *Budda no sekai* [The world of the Buddha; Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980], pl. 4-39).

17. For example, the sculptures from Mathurā, second century C.E.; Lucknow Museum (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 4-41). On the left side of the relief of the preaching Buddha (Lahore Museum C-109) are twelve scenes, each depicting naked figures wrestling. In the relief showing several scenes from the Buddha's life (from Nālandā, ninth–tenth century C.E., Archaeological Museum, Nālandā, no. 10793), surrounding a seated Buddha figure whose hand points to the ground, there are scenes depicting (from the bottom right) the Buddha's birth, his visit to the heaven of the thirty-three deities, and his teaching. The pedestal portrays the miracle at Śrāvastī, and above the head is a depiction of the Buddha's death.

18. Relief from Sārnāth, fifth century; Indian Museum, Calcutta (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. C-3, 7-2). There is also an example of a grouping of five scenes (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 7-4).

19. Examples include a fifth-century Gupta-period relief (*Indo, Nishi Ajia* [India and West Asia], vol. 13 of *Genshoku sekai no bijutsu* [Art of the world in full color; Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1973], no. 53; Sōtarō Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō* [Stone sculptures of ancient India; Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1970], no. 4; Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Indo no busseki to Hindū jiin* [Buddhist sites of India and Hindu temples], vol. 5 of *Sekai no bunka shiseki* [Historical sites of culture in the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], no. 13, p. 62); a fifth-century relief in the Archaeological Museum, Sārnāth (Osamu Takata and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* [Art of India], vol. 1 [Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 184; Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō*, pl. 49); a ninth- to tenth-century Pāla dynasty relief from Nālandā (Kōichi Machida, ed., *Nyūderī bijutsukan* [National Museum, New Delhi], vol. 9 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], no. 85; Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 7-1, 7-3; Alfred Foucher, *La vie du Bouddha, d'après les textes et les monuments de l'Inde* [Paris: Payot, 1949], p. 374). For more on the depiction of the eight episodes of the Buddha's life, see Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten* (Illustrated encyclopedia of Buddhist terms; Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1988), pp. 582, 593 (frontispiece V).

20. Other series of friezes illustrating episodes in Śākyamuni's life or with other buddhas that have been found in India include: from Mathurā, third century, Lucknow Museum (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 4-41; Osamu Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen* [Origin of Buddhist images; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967], pl. 70; Chikyō Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū* [The roots of Buddhist art; Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1981], pl. 8); from Mathurā, Kuṣāṇa period, Archaeological Museum, Mathurā (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 9); from Rājghat, Kuṣāṇa period, Archaeological Museum, Mathurā (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 10); from Sārnāth, fifth century, National Museum of India, New Delhi (Yama-

moto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 119); balustrade reliefs, from Bhārhut, early first century B.C.E., Indian Museum, Calcutta (Teruo Ueno, ed., *Karukatta bijutsukan* [Indian Museum, Calcutta], vol. 32 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1970], Introduction; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 36); *toraṇa* (gateway) at Sāñcī, first century B.C.E. (Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō*, pl. 17, 20, 21; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 18, 23, 36; Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1971], pl. 71, 72); and g) bronze sculpture from Kurkihar, Bihar, which depicts seven important events (*WOB*, pl. II-1).

Other sculptures depicting the important events include: from Amarāvatī, Government Museum, Madras (*WOB*, pl. II-2; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 92); from Sārnāth, fifth century, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 0-3; *WOB*, pl. II-3); from Sārnāth, fifth century, National Museum of India, New Delhi (*WOB*, pl. II-4); "Illustrations from the Buddha's Life from Nālandā," ninth century (*WOB*, pl. II-5); "Illustrations from the Buddha's Life from Bengal," tenth century, Boston Museum (*WOB*, pl. II-6); "Paintings from Nepal," eighteenth century (*WOB*, pl. II-7); and Illustrations from the Buddha's Life from Cave 275, Tun-huang (Saiiki Bunka Kenkyūkai, ed., *Chūō Ajia Bukkyō bijutsu* [Buddhist art of Central Asia], vol. 5 of *Saiiki bunka kenkyū* [Study of the cultures in the western regions; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1962], pl. 370; cf. pl. 563). There is also a pictorial representation of the life of the Buddha in the Dambulla rock temple in Sri Lanka (Kyōshō Hayashima and Shōji Itō, *Seiron no Butto* [Buddhist cities of Ceylon], vol. 9 of *Sekai no seiiki* [Sanctuaries of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979], p. 113). For details of similar works from other countries, see Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 583.

21. Kentoku Hori did an excellent study comparing the artistic remains with the events of the Buddha's life, entitled *Bijutsujō no Shaka* (Sakyamuni in art; Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1910). Of more recent works, the most detailed in relating the Buddha's life through archaeological finds and field photography is Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*. The second chapter (pp. 81–196) is of particular relevance. Another valuable work is *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* (The life of Sakyamuni in the fine arts) by Takashi Koezuka (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979). A further study is *Budda no shōgai* (Life of the Buddha), Iwanami Shashin Bunko 181 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1956), which examines the Buddha's life through archaeological remains and works of art. A detailed, more recent work is Ratan Parimoo, *Life of Buddha in Indian Sculpture, Astha-maha-pratiharya, an Iconological Analysis* (New Delhi: Kanak Publications, 1982), reviewed by Jacques Rangasamy, *JRAS* 2 (1983): 315–16.

22. The remainder of this section is taken from Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni Miru Shakuson no Shōgai.*

23. This section is adapted from my *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), 12–13. Refer to this work for details

of studies dealing with the Indian social background. The topic is covered fully in my *Indoshi I* (History of India, vol. 1), vol. 5 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997).

CHAPTER 1: BIRTH

1. *Fo* (仏) and *fo-t'o* (仏陀).

2. *Chüeh-che* (覚者) and *ta-chüeh* (大覚).

3. The state of becoming aware of the actuality of the empirical world is expressed by the gerund *buddhva* (V. S. Sukthankar and S. K. Belvalkar, critically ed., *The Mahābhārata* [Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1927], XII, 253, 25; T. R. Krishnacharya and T. R. Vyasacharya, eds., *Mahābhāratam* [Bombay: Nirnayasagar Press, 1906–10], XII, 261, 25).

4. Even in Early Buddhism there existed the idea of the seven buddhas of the past and of Maitreya, the buddha of the future. Mahāyāna Buddhism taught the existence of multiple buddhas, such as Amitābha/Amitāyus, Akṣobhya, and Vairocana (Mahāvairocana).

5. The name *Gotama Buddha* appears in *Therag.*, 91.

6. An example of the compound *Shih-chia* (釈迦; Jpn., *Shaka*) being used to identify Sakyamuni appears as early as the fifth-century Chinese Buddhist priest Chi-tsang's *Pai-lun-su* (*T.* 42:244b).

7. *Sakyakule jāto Buddho* (*Therīg.*, 185); *Sakkakule jāto Sambuddho* (*Therīg.*, 192). In Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, *Śākiya;* for example, *Mahāvastu,* vol. 1, 43, ll. 1f. The earliest account of the history of the Sakyas is contained in two works by the fifth-century commentator Buddhaghosa (*Sv.*, 258 62; *Pj.*, 352–56). Other materials concerning the Sakyas are: Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1 (Rome: IsMEO, 1977), 1 39; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 1–2 (*T.* 24:99a–107b). The following works are quoted, with a few additions, in Bernhard Breloer's "Die Śākya," *ZDMG*, Neue Folge, 19 (1940): 268–94; William Woodville Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order* (London: Trübner, 1884), 11; Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism in Its Modern Development* (London: 1853; 2d ed. 1880), 133; Samuel Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha* (London: Trubner, 1875), 30; and Bigandet, *Legend of the Burmese Buddha*, 3d ed., 11. Wilhelm Geiger has organized and arranged the above material in his translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mahāvaṃsa, or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon* [Colombo: The Ceylon Government Information Department, 1950], 273–75 [appendix A]). Cf. Albrecht Friedrich Weber, *Indische Studien*, vol. 5 (Berlin: F. Dummler, 1850–63; Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1865–98), 412–37. For Japanese research in this area, see Chizen Akanuma, ed., *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* (Dictionary of Indian Buddhist proper names; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), 566–68. On the Sakyas, see *Ogihara Unrai Bunshū* (Collection of Unrai Ogihara's essays; Tokyo:

Taishō Daigaku Bukkyōgaku Ogihara Unrai Kinen Kenkyūkai, 1938), 99ff.

8. In 1898, William Claxton Péppe discovered and excavated a mound at Piprāhwā. In it he found a reliquary with an inscription to the effect that it contained the relics of the World-honored One, the Buddha, born of the Sakyas. Scholars have widely accepted its authenticity (I discuss this in the second volume of this book).

9. "flank of the Himayala": *Sn.,* 422.

10. "Son of the Sakyas": *Sakyaputta* (*Sn.,* 991). Northern Europeans also use the suffix *-son* in surnames (e.g., Mendelssohn, Anderson, Henderson).

11. Akanuma, in *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten,* 568, cites the occurrence of the expression only in the *Mahāvastu,* vol. 1, 57, and *AvŚ,* 35. The term *Sakyamuni* also appears in *Sn.,* 225, however.

12. *AV,* XIV, 39, 9; *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa,* XIII, 3, 12; *Śat. Br.,* XIII, 5, 4, 5. Cf. Arthur Anthony Macdonell and Arthur Berriedale Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects,* vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1912), 75; H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of India,* 6th ed. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1953), 100–101.

13. "Kan-che-wang": 甘蔗王.

14. See *Harivaṃśa,* 545ff. Cf. Moriz Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature,* vol. 1 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), 444.

15. Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), 74.

16. Tetsujirō Inoue had already claimed that the Sakyas were not Aryan in his *Shaka shuzokuron* (On origins of the Sakyas; Tokyo: Tetsugaku Shoin, 1897). See Junkichi Imanishi, "Sōseki to Inoue Tetsujirō no *Indo Tetsugakushi* Kōgi" (Lectures on *History of Indian Philosophy* by Sōseki Natsume and Tetsujirō Inoue), *Matsugaoka bunko kenkyū nempō,* no. 4 (1990): 79.

17. Information from a lecture given by G. T. Bowles.

18. Concerning the clan name (*gotta*) of Sakyamuni, see Damadar Dharmanand Kosambi, "Brahmin Clans," *JAOS* 73, no. 4 (1953): 205.

19. *DN,* no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-sutta,* 1, 16 (vol. 1, pp. 92–93).

20. An unusual interpretation is that the name derives from *śākhā* ("branch"), making *Sakya* mean "those who live under the branches." This popular etymological explanation led to the statement in the *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching* (*T.* 3:655) that "The Śākya lived under densely leaved branches of big trees. For this reason they are called Śākhya [Pāli, Sākhiya]" (*T.* 3:675c).

21. Concerning the conflict over water between the residents of Kapilavatthu and the Koḷiyas, see *Jātaka,* vol. 5, 412–14; *Dhp.,* ed. Fausböll, 351; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism,* 307.

22. *Dhp. Atthakathā,* vol. 3, p. 254. See Chizen Akanuma, *Shakuson* (Śākyamuni; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1934), 6.

23. *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 13: *A-mo-chou-ching* (*T.* 1:82c–83a).

24. *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:101a–b).

25. *DN*, no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-sutta*, 1, 12 (vol. 1, pp. 90–91). Refer also to *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 13 (*T.* 1:82c).

26. The Chinese equivalent (*Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 13: *A-mo-chou-ching*) says, "Kṣatriyas, Brahmins, Gṛhapati, and Śūdras" (*T.* 1:82c). The appearance of *Gṛhapati* rather than *Vaiśya* indicates an older form.

27. *DN*, no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-sutta*, 1, 15 (vol. 1, pp. 91–92).

28. *DN*, no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-sutta*, 1, 13 (vol. 1, p. 91).

29. Bernhard Breloer discusses the Sakyan republican form of government in detail, comparing it with Greek descriptions of ancient Indian republics ("Die Śākya," 268–312).

30. *MN*, no. 53, *Sekha-sutta*, vol. 3, pp. 353ff. In the equivalent sutra in Chinese translation (*Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 36 [*T.* 2:316a]), *santhāgāra* is translated as *chiang-t'ang* (講堂; "lecture hall").

31. *DN*, no. 33, *Saṅgīti-suttanta* (vol. 3, p. 207). In the equivalent Chinese translation (*Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 8: *Chung-chi-ching* [*T.* 1:49bff.]), there is no mention of a hall.

32. *Bhaddasāla-jātaka* (*Jātaka*, no. 465 [vol. 4, 144f.]). Here, also, the hall is termed *santhāgāra*.

33. I shall discuss this fact later.

34. *āṇāpavattiṭṭhāna* (*Jātaka*, vol. 4, p. 145).

35. "Upright in nature": the original reads *ujuṃ janapado*, but the quotation of the same passage in the commentaries says *ujū janapado*. I follow the latter version (*Sn.*, 422).

36. For the topography of the Sakya lands, see Hermann Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* [The Buddha: His life, his order, his doctrine; Berlin: W. Hertz, 1881], 113–15.

37. *DN*, no. 27, *Aggañña-suttanta*, 8 (vol. 3, pp. 83–84). See also *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 6: *Hsiao-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:37b).

38. Thomas R. Trautmann, "Consanguineous Marriage in Pali Literature," *JAOS* 93 (1973): 158–80.

39. M. B. Emeneau, "Was There Cross-Cousin Marriage among the Śākyas?" *JAOS* 59 (1939): 220–26. For later research, see Trautmann, "Consanguineous Marriage."

40. Emeneau, "Was There Cross-Cousin Marriage?" 220–21. Such a marriage custom was obligatory among the Nayadi of Malabar.

41. Breloer gives these examples in refuting Emeneau's argument ("Die Śākya," 268–94, especially 273).

42. See Emeneau, "Die Śākya," 268–94.

43. *mātigottaṃ nāma kiṃ karissati, pitigottaṃ eva pamāṇan'ti porāṇakapaṇḍitā* . . . (*Jātaka*, vol. 4, p. 148).

44. *Bhagavato hi dve asītisahassasaṃkhā Sakya-Koḷiyā rājāno ñātayo, te attano attano sampattiyā nibaddhabhattaṃ dātuṃ ussahanti* (*Pj.*, 140).

45. Ādiccabandhu (*Sn.*, 54, 540, 915, 1128; *DN*, no. 21, *Sakkapañha-suttanta*, vol. 2, p. 287G; *SN*, vol. 1, p. 192G, vol. 3, p. 142G; *AN*, vol. 2, p. 17G, 74G; *Therag.*, 1237). Buddha Ādiccabandhu (*SN*, vol. 1, p. 186G; *AN*, vol. 2, p. 54G; *Therag.*, 158, 1023, 1212). Cakkhumat Ādiccabandhu (*AN*, vol. 4, p. 228G; *Therag.*, 417, 1258). Ādiccā nāma gottena (*Sn.*, 424). "*Jih-chung*": 日種.

46. *MBh*, I, 65, 10ff.; Edward Washburn Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Strassburg: Trubner, 1915), p. 198.

47. Information provided by Dr. Lokesh Chandra. The word *sūryavaṃśa* appears in Sanskrit dictionaries, but *sūryavaṃśī*, the Hindi form, does not. The feminine adjective (modifier) is *sūryavaṃśakā*, and the masculine noun, *sūryavaṃśa meṃ utpanna puruṣa*.

48. *DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, III, 30 (vol. 2, p. 52).

49. H. Grassmann offers the following interpretation of *gotama:* "gotama.m. [von gó], Eigenname eines Sängers, und im pl. Bezeichnung seiner Nachkommen" (*Wörterbuch zum Rigveda* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1976], col. 411). According to this dictionary, the form *Gautama* cannot be found in the *Ṛg Veda*. Cf. *ṚV*, I, 79, 10.

50. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. 1, pp. 234–35, 240–41.

51. John Brough, *The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), pp. 32–33, 103–10.

52. Brough, *Early Brahmanical System*, p. xvii; *Epigraphia Indica* (Calcutta: Government of India, 1894–95), iii, 342.

53. *DN*, II, p. 52.

54. *PW*, s.v. *Gotama*.

55. Use of the suffix *-tama* after a noun to indicate the superlative is already apparent in the *Ṛg Veda* (*ṚV*, 491, 7 = VI, 50, 7); *mātṛtama*, a., Superlat. des vorigen [mātṛ], mütterlichst (Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, col. 1032).

56. Ānanda, Sakyamuni's cousin and attendant, was also called Gotama, and Mahāpajāpatī, his aunt and foster mother, was called Gotamī (a female member of the Gotama clan).

57. *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:101a–b).

58. *Mahāvastu*, vol. 1, p. 348.

59. *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 30 (*T.* 1:148c). *Ta-lou-t'an-ching*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 1:309a). *Ch'i-shih-ching*, fasc. 10 (*T.* 1:363a). *Ch'i-shih-yin-pen-ching* (*T.* 1:418a).

60. *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:672a). *Chung-hsü-mo-ho-ti-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:933c).

61. *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:779a). *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 24:101a).

62. *Chang-so-chih-lun*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 32:231a).

63. I. B. Horner, "The Buddha's Co-Natal," in *Studies in Pali and Buddhism: A memorial volume in honor of Bhikkhu Jagadish Kashyap*, ed. A. K. Narain (Delhi: B. R. Pub. Corp., 1979), pp. 115–20.

64. "Wei-lin-t'o-lo": 微隣陀羅.

65. Śuddhodana in Sanskrit (Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* [New Haven: Yale University, 1953], p. 531). According to the rule of *sandhi* in Sanskrit, it should be Śuddhaudana, but this form does not appear, probably owing to the fact that the form Suddhodana was already established among Prākrit-speaking Buddhists, so Sanskrit-speaking Buddhists took the form as it was and merely Sanskritized it as Śuddhodana. *Śuddha* means "pure, sufficient, unadulterated, undiluted." In Sanskrit literature, *śuddhasnāna* means to wash with water, using no perfumed oils or sandalwood. When the husband is away, the wife washes in water alone, not using perfumed oils (Kālidāsa, *Meghadūta*, 88).

66. "Ching-fan-wang": 浄飯王.

67. *DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, vol. 2, pp. 7, 52. Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, XXVI, 13. Rhys Davids believed that *rājan* was a title much like *esquire* or an honorary title like *consul* or *archon* (*Early Buddhism* [London: Constable and Co., 1910], p. 27). Hermann Oldenberg thought that Suddhodana was no more than a noble and a great landowner (*Buddha*, p. 13. Auflage, hrg. von Helmuth von Glasenapp [Stuttgart: Erschienen im cotta Verlag, 1959], p. 118).

68. *Therag.*, 534; *DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, III, 30 (vol. 2, p. 52). Māyā gave birth to Gotama (*Therīg.*, 192). Māyā was called Gotamī (*Therag.*, 535).

69. "Bliss": *tidivasmi modati*, *Therag.*, 534.

70. *DN*, vol. 2, pp. 7, 52.

71. Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, p. 613ff. This name appears only in the *Jātaka* (the *Nidānakathā* in particular) and the *Dīpavaṃsa*, III, 47; XIX, 18. For an explanation of the name, see Yenshō Kanakura, *Indo kodai seishinshi* (A history of ancient spirituality in India; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1939), p. 291.

72. *Khattiyo jātiyā khattiya-kule uppanno* (*DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, III, 30 [vol. 2, p. 51]).

73. *DN*, no. 4, *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta*, 6 (vol. 1, p. 115).

74. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:900c); Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (1884; Delhi: Orient Books Reprint Corporation, 1969), pp. 13–14 (adapted).

75. The T'ang-dynasty-period *li* was of two sizes, small and large. The small *li* was equivalent to 454.4 m, and the large one, 545.5 m. The former measurement was employed in the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* (Kiroku Adachi, *Hokkenden* [Record of Fa-hsien; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1940], p. 8). The Japanese *li* is approximately 3.9273 km.

76. *Sn.*, 991.

77. In later literature, Kapilapura (*Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 91); *kapilāvayaṃ . . . devanayaraṃ iva Kapila puram uttamam* . . . (*Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, p. 21); *Kapilāhvaye ṛṣivadanasmiṃ* (*Mahāvastu*, vol. 1, p. 43; = *ṛṣipatane*; cf. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, s.v.). All forms preserve the name Kapila.

78. *DN*, no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-sutta*, 1, 14 (vol. 1, p. 91).

79. *Pj.*, p. 353.

80. *Pj.*, p. 353. *Śakyānām kumāra utpanno 'nuhimavatpārśve nadyā Bhāgīrathyās tīre Kapilasyarṣer āśramapadasya nātidūre* (*CPS*, p. 324). See also *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 24:134c).

81. The Ganges is referred to as the Bhāgīrathī (*Jātaka*, vol. 5, v. 291).

82. Cf. Kuśinagarī.

83. Cf. *Sn.*, 1012.

84. *DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, I, 12 (vol. 2, pp. 7, 52).

85. Modern maps of Nepal show a district called Kapilabastu (in Nepali the Sanskrit *va* becomes *ba*) in Lumbinī Province. Tilaurâ Kôt is a magnificent ruined site on the outskirts of the town of Taulihawā, and is presumed to be the ruins of Kapilavatthu. On this assumption, Rissho University sent a team of archaeologists to Nepal in November 1967. The excavation has been concluded and a report published (see note 91). Preliminary investigations showed that the names of the cities surrounding the site correspond to the names of the cities around Kapilavatthu that are mentioned in the canonical writings of early Buddhism, and an Aśokan pillar can be found in the vicinity. Further, the Tilaurâ Kôt remains are almost identical to the descriptions found in Fa-hsien's and Hsüan-tsang's travel diaries. The ruins measure 365 meters east to west and they are surrounded by a moat. Authorities in the department of archaeology at Tribhvan University in Katmandu also conjecture that Taulihawā is the ancient Kapilavatthu.

86. 27.37 degrees north and 83.8 degrees east (Vincent Arthur Smith, "The Piprāhwā stūpa, containing relics of Buddha," *JRAS* [1898]: 580). A detailed report appears in Babu Purnachandra Mukherji and Vincent Arthur Smith, "Antiquities in the Tarâi," *Nepâl. Archaeol. S.*, Rep. Imperial Series, vol. 26, 1901. Also, consult documents about Kapilavatthu mentioned by Hermann Oldenberg in *Buddha*, 9th ed., p. 111, note 1, and Tsūshō Byōdō's "Kabirajō oyobi Bisharijō ni tsuite" (Kapilavatthu and Vesālī), *Buttan nisen-gohyakunen kinen gakkai kiyō* (1935), 33 ff.

87. Fa-hsien, *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:861b). Translated by James Legge as *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (New York: Paragon Reprint Corp., 1964), p. 68 (adapted).

88. Information from Ram Niwas Pandey, lecturer in archaeology at Tribhvan University.

89. Zuiryū Nakamura, Tsuncharu Kubo, and Hideichi Sakazume, eds., *Fortified Village in Terai Excavated in 1967 1977*, vol. 2 of *Tilaurâ Kôt: The Rissho University Nepal Archaeological Research Report* (Tokyo: Rissho University, 1978).

90. From a report in *The Bukkyō Times* by Rissho University Professor Hideichi Sakazume, "Kapilajōshi o saguru" (Exploring the site of Kapilavastu), March 15, 1978, p. 3.

91. For the various questions concerning the site of Kapilavatthu, see Zuiryū

Nakamura, "Pipurahawā hakkutsu no konjaku to mondaiten" (History and points of issue of the excavations at Piprāhwā), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 25, no. 2 (March 1977): 110–17. Nakamura, however, avoids a firm conclusion.

92. Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, Ryōjun Satō, *Budda no sekai* (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980), pp. 140–44, pl. 2–11. The items are shown in color photographs. An earlier report was made by Tokuo Fukuda in "Pipurawā no shari yōki" (The Piprāhwā reliquary), *Daihōrin* (April 1981): 188–93. This contains color photographs of the larger and smaller reliquaries found at Piprāhwā and the relics inside them. These are different from the reliquaries that Peppé unearthed in the nineteenth century.

93. Nepal Puratattva Vibhaga, *Tilaurakot: The Ancient City of Kapilavastu* (Katmandu: Buddha Jayanti Celebrations Committee [2520], 1976).

94. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:861a–b). See also Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, pp. 64–67.

95. Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, new enlarged ed. (Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975), p. 349.

96. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:900c); Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 13–14 (amended).

97. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:901a); Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 14–15 (amended).

98. Rāmagāma: The Buddha's relics were divided into eight portions, and one of the places receiving one of those eight was "Lo-mo-ch'ieh-kou" 羅摩伽国 (*Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 4: *Yu-hsing-ching* [*T.* 1:30a]). The Pāli version (*DN*, no. 16, *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, VI, 24 [vol. 2, p. 165]) gives Rāmagāmakā Koliyā.

99. A recent theory suggests that the Buddha's home was somewhere near Lumbinī, perhaps the hamlet of Kapileswara in Orissa, based on similarities in the inscription on the Aśokan pillar discovered at Lumbinī. See Chakradhar Mahapatra, *The Real Birthplace of Buddha* (Cuttack: Grantha Mandir, 1977). The author seems to be a native of Orissa. It is nevertheless difficult to disprove the other theories.

100. In Japan most accounts of Gotama's birth are based on the traditional biographies translated into Chinese (for details, see the bibliography of this volume), whereas in the West they mainly derive from the *Jātaka* (vol. 1, pp. 47 ff.), translated into English in Henry Clarke Warren's *Buddhism in Translations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), pp. 38–48. The most detailed critical discussion of birth legends is found in Ernst Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1908), p. 236. He discusses the various birth legends in detail, taking Indian ideas of transmigration into account, but inexplicably ignores the verse introductions of the *Suttanipāta*. Other works on this subject include Robert Chalmers, "The *Madhura Sutta* concerning Caste," *JRAS* (1894): 341–66; R. Chalmers, "The Nativity of the Buddha," *JRAS* (1895): 751–71; Alfred Foucher, *La vie du Bouddha, d'après les textes et les monuments*

de l'Inde [Paris: Payot, 1949], pp. 23–69; Wilhelm Printz, "Buddha's Geburt," *ZDMG* 79 (1925): 119ff.; Alfred Foucher, "On the Iconography of the Buddha's Nativity," in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 46 (1934); reviewed by Anand Kentish Coomaraswamy, *JAOS* 55 (1935): 323–25.

101. *Sn.*, 955.

102. Legends concerning the Buddha's dwelling in the Tusita heaven are found in the *Jātaka* (vol. 1, p. 48, l. 12); *Lalitavistara* (p. 14, l. 12); *Mahāvastu* (vol. 1, p. 337, l. 11); Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu* (part 1, pp. 39–43); Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 39; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107b–c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:676c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:540c 41a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:483a–88b); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:473b); and *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:623a–24a).

Artistic representations of the same subject include: "The Bodhisatta in the Tusita heaven," third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB*, pl. II-8); third century, from Amarāvatī, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*Indo, Nishi Ajia* [India and West Asia], vol. 13 of *Genshoku sekai no bijutsu* [Art of the world in full color; Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1970], pl. 28; Chikyō Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū* [The roots of Buddhist art; Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1981], pl. 243). The seated figure of the Bodhisatta in the Tusita heaven dates from the mature period of Gandhāran sculpture; he sits on a lotus pedestal (Padmāsana). From Sikri, Lahore Museum (John Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960], p. 5, fig. 74). From Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-9; Yūken Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru* [Borobuḍur rises; Nagoya: Ajia Bunka Kōryū Sentā, 1987], pp. 67–72).

103. *Therag.*, 534.

104. *Therag.*, 968.

105. See Tsūshō Byōdō, "Shoki butsuden bunken ni okeru Bosatsu no seken kansatsu setsuwa ni tsuite" (Concerning religious tales of the Bodhisattva's descent to the world in early Buddhist biographical literature), *Shūkyō kenkyū*, n.s., 13, no. 1 (1936): 70–82.

106. Legends of the dream: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 40–41; *Buddhacarita*, I, 20; *Lalitavistara*, p. 63, l. 13; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 15; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:548c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:624a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:683b); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:491a–b); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:463b).

Commentary about the dream: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 50, l. 23; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 40–41; *Lalitavistara*, p. 64, l. 16; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:683c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:549a–b); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:491c); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:463b–c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:473b); and *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:624b).

The legend of the Buddha entering his mother's womb: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 50, l. 2; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 42; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107b); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:489a); and *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:547c–48a).

The legend of the Buddha taking the form of a white elephant is found in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 40–41; *Lalitavistara*, p. 43, l. 11; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, p. 8; *Buddhacarita*, I, 19, 20; E. H. Johnston, *The Saundarananda*, Panjab University Oriental Publications no. 14 (Oxford University Press, 1932; reprint, Tokyo Rinsen Book Co., 1972), II, 50; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107b–c); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:488b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:545c–46a); and *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:462b–63b). The form of the white elephant does not, however, appear in reliefs at Borobuḍur depicting the life of the Buddha.

107. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 50–52.

108. *Indo, Nishi Ajia*, no. 21. Similar works of art include those from the beginning of the first century B.C.E. found at Bhārhut and now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Osamu Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen* [Origin of Buddhist images; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967], pl. 6; Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1971], pl. 62; *WOB*, pl. II-14; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 31; Osamu Takata and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* (Art of India), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 280; *Nagarj.*, p. 94, pl. X); from Sāñcī (*WOB*, pl. II-15); from Amarāvatī, third century, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Takashi Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* [Sakyamuni in the fine arts; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979], pl. 2; Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 242); from Taxila, Kuṣāṇa period, first–second century (Kōichi Machida, ed., *Nyūderī bijutsukan* [National Museum, New Delhi], vol. 9 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], pl. 75); from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 6); panel, second–third century, in the Lahore Museum (Catalogue for the Exhibition of Gandhara Art of Pakistan, 1984, pl. II-4); from Amarāvatī, second century, now in the Government Museum, Madras (*WOB*, pl. II-11); from Sārnāth, fifth century (Machida, *Nyūderī bijutsukan*, pl. 80; Nakamura et al., *Buddha no sekai*, pl. 2-105; K. S. Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in South India and Early Andhra History* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1981), p. 3); eleventh century, Ānanda Temple, Burma (*WOB*, pl. 10, 12, 13); Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-17; Kengo Tō, *Tonkō e no michi* [The way to Tun-huang; Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1978], p. 118; and Ujitani, *Yomigaeru*, p. 73).

Interpetation of the dream: from Amarāvatī, second century, British Museum (*WOB*, pl. 21); and Borobuḍur, eighth century (*WOB*, pl. 20; *Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 7).

109. Jirō Sugiyama, *Indo no bijutsu* (Indian art), vol. 4 of *Gurando sekai bijutsu* (Great art of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976), no. 41.

110. "Complete": The original says *yathā sumpūrṇayūnaḥ*, but Hsüan-tsang in his translation (*A-p'i-ta-mo chü-she-lun* [*T.* 29:45c]) interpreted it as *yathā sumpūrṇo*

yūnaḥ. The latter seems to be the smoother interpretation, so I have followed that here. "Marks of perfection": refer to the *Ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun*, fasc. 70 (*T.* 27:361b).

111. "King Kṛkin": He is the father of Kāśyapa, the last of the Buddhas of the past. Concerning the ten subjects of dreams, see Anton Schiefner, "Eine tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Çakjamuni's des Begründers des Buddhatums," in *Mem. presentés à l'Acad. Impér. d. Sc. de St. Pétersbourg*, T. VI, 1851: S. 59, and footnotes on pp. 534–36 of the eleventh volume of the commentary section of the Japanese translation of the Chinese canon (*Kokuyaku Daizōkyō*).

112. *Abhidharmakośa* (P. Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, 1st ed. [Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1967], p. 123, l. 25ff.). *A-p'i-ta-mo chü-she-lun*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 29:45c).

113. *Abhidharmakośa* (Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, p. 128, ll. 26 27). *A-p'i-ta-mo chü-she-lun*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 29:47b).

114. Kālidāsa, *Meghadūta*, 2.

115. *ZIM*, vol. 1, p. 160.

116. *Sakyāna gāme janapade Lumbhineyye*, probably meaning "in an area belonging to Lumbinī." *Sn.*, 683.

117. Jules Bloch, *Les inscriptions d'Asoka* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1950), pp. 27f.

118. The Asokan pillar, Lumbinī (*WOB*, pl. 18, 19).

119. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:861b); Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 67 (amended).

120. Hsüan-tsang's account uses the Chinese character for "grove," so the area must have been comparatively well forested in his time.

121. "Two streams of water bursting from heaven, having the power of heat and cold, fell down upon the peerless one's benign head" (*Buddhacarita*, I, 16, trans. E. B. Cowell in *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts*, vol. 49 of SBE [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1894]), p. 5.

122. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:902a–b); Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 24–25 (amended).

123. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:901b).

124. See, for example, *WOB*, p. 123, pl. 1.

125. My information concerning Lumbinī comes from Mr. Vāstava of Tribhvan University. He was previously an inspector in the Terai region and often visited Lumbinī's middle school.

126. From a report made by Chihiro Mizutani after a visit to Lumbinī in 1977.

127. The Asokan pillar at Lumbinī has been featured extensively in a number of books (for example, *WOB*, pl. 18, 19); therefore I have not dealt with it in detail here.

128. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:861b); Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 67), and *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* (*T.* 51:902a); Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, p. 25). Hsüan-

tsang, however, says that beside the horse pillar was a small stream called the "river of oil."

129. *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching* (*T.* 3:625a).

130. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 52. The legend of Māyā's excursion to Lumbinī Garden: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 52, l. 8; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 44; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107c–108a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:493b); *Kuo-c'hü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:625a–b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:685c–86a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:552a).

Artistic representations: "Māyā setting out for Lumbinī," eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-22; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 481); "King Suddhodana visiting Māyā," second century, Amarāvatī (*WOB*, pl. II-18); eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-19); "Interpretation of Māyā's dream," second century, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 3); second century, from Amarāvatī, British Museum (*WOB*, pl. II-21); eighth century, Borobuḍur, (*WOB*, pl. II-20); from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 7).

131. Those related in the seventh degree of kinship in both ascending and descending lines (*Manu-smṛti*, V, 60).

132. *Manu-smṛti*, V, 61–62; G. Bühler, trans., *The Laws of Manu*, vol. 25 of SBE (Oxford: The University Press, 1886; Reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, 1964), pp. 178 (amended).

133. Breloer, "Die Śākya," pp. 268–72.

134. *"Idha Tathāgato jāto" ti, Ānanda, saddhassa kulaputtassa dassanīyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ* (MPS, *DN*, no. 16, V, 8 [vol. 2, p. 140]).

135. Concerning the limitless sacrifice at Kapilavatthu, see Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 43–44; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:549b). Refer also to *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:463c).

136. Legends relating to the birth: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 52; *Sn.*, p. 128; *DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, I, 24–30 [vol. 2, pp. 14–15]; *MN*, no. 89, *Dhammacetiya-sutta*, vol. 3, pp. 122–23; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 44–46; *Visuddhimagga*, 694; *Lalitavistara*, p. 93, l. 8; *Buddhacarita*, I, 34; *Divyāv.*, p. 389; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, p. 21; Karl Eugen Neumann, trans., vol. 3 of *Reden Gotamo Buddhos, aus der Längeren Sammlung Dīghanikāyo des Pāli-Kanons*, 8 vols. (Munich: R. Piper, 1907, 1912, 1918), p. 249; *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 1: *Ta-pen-ching* (*T.* 1:4b–c); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:101b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:108a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:552c–53b); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:494a–b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:626c–27a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:686c–87a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:1a–b); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:901a); *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:861a).

Depictions in art: "Birth of Prince Siddhārtha" second century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, National Museum of India, New Delhi. "Birth and the Seven

Steps" (including those that do not actually show the seven steps): Buddha kā prākaṭya (N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures* [Mathurā: Archeological Museum, 1966], pl. 49). "Walking the seven steps" (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 11); second century, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 21); Kuṣāṇa dynasty, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 4; Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū,* pl. 65); Kuṣāṇa dynasty, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū,* pl. 237).

Other panels show Māyā holding the branch of the *asoka* tree, with the prince being born from her right side and soon taking seven steps: from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 7); second–third century, from Sikri, Lahore Museum (*Gandāraten,* II-5); third–fourth century, from Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. II-24; Tetsujirō Inoue and Kentoku Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden* [Biography of Śākyamuni, enlarged edition; Tokyo: Maekawa Bun'eikaku, 1911], p. 66; Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in South India,* p. 5); first–second century, from Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Machida, *Nyūderī bijutsukan,* p. 161, no. 52; *Indo, Nishi Ajia,* no. 13); third–fourth century, from Gandhāra (*West Berlin,* pl. 2); third–fourth century, from Gandhāra, Patna Museum (*WOB,* pl. II-25); from Sahri Bahlol, Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 4); from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 5). "The Birth," fourth–fifth century, from Takht-i-Bahī, Peshawar Museum (Banri Namikawa, *Namikawa Banri Shashinshū—Gandāra* (Banri Namikawa's photo collection: Gandhāra; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984], pl. 40). "Seven steps": second–third century, Lahore Museum (Catalogue for the Exhibition of Gandhara Art of Pakistan, 1984, II-6); second century, from Amarāvatī (*ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 90); third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, National Museum of India, New Delhi (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 8); Ikṣvāku dynasty, third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Machida, *Nyūderī bijutsukan,* p. 161, no. 52; *Indo, Nishi Ajia,* no. 13); third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu,* vol. 2, pl. 334; *WOB,* pl. 23); from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 8); fifth century, wall painting, Cave 2, Ajantā (*WOB,* pl. II-1; Osamu Takata, *Ajanta—sekkutsu jiin to hekiga* [Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971], pl. 114; Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in South India,* p. 65); eleventh century, from Nālandā, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. II-26); eleventh century, from Nālandā (*East and West* [IsMEO] 7, no. 4 [January 1957]: 311). "The Buddha's Birth illustrated in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra,*" Calcutta, in the collection of S. K. Saraswati (*WOB,* p. II-11).

Some sculptures have not been defaced, and the faces of Māyā and her attendants are vividly portrayed. Pāla dynasty, tenth century, from Bengal (*The Cleveland Museum of Art,* USA. 59-349); eighteenth century, Tibetan thaṅ-ka, Musée Guimet (*WOB,* pl. II-27); "Birth of the Buddha" (Tō, *Tonkō e no michi,* p. 97). "The Buddha's Birth"? Kuṣāṇa dynasty, second century, from Mathurā, Government Museum, Mathurā (Machida, *Nyūderī bijutsukan,* pl. 39).

Relief depicting the the birth of Sakyamuni in the Māyā temple at Lumbinī (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* pl. 2-15). A similar relief can be found at Borobuḍur (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* pp. 80–81). Statues of the newly born Buddha with his right hand pointing at the sky and his left hand pointing at the ground (when the Buddha uttered the words "I alone am the lord of heaven and earth"): latter part of the Nara period (710–94), Tōdai-ji (Nara, Nara Prefecture) and Zensui-ji (Shiga Prefecture). Statue of Māyā: seventh century, originally at Hōryū-ji, now in the Tokyo National Museum. Here, a small Sakyamuni, his hands raised above his head with the palms together, emerges, the top half of his body only, from his mother's right sleeve.

"The Birth of Kanthaka and Chandaka" second–third century, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 13; *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 9). "Consecrating with water" (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 10); Mardan Group, around second century, Peshawar Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pl. 41). "The dragon deities pouring streams of hot and cold water over Prince Siddhattha's head" (Tō, *Tonkō e no michi,* p. 96). "The dragon kings Nanda and Upananda venerating the standing Sakyamuni, washing him after his birth" second–third century, Government Museum, Mathurā, H.2 (J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archeological Museum at Mathura* [Allahabad: Government Press, United Provinces, 1910], p. 126).

A discussion of depictions of the Buddha's birth: Foucher, "On the Iconography of the Buddha's Nativity," 323–25. For a discussion of the Buddha's birth, see Printz, "Buddha's Geburt," 119ff.

137. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 52.

138. It is said that Sakyamuni was born from the queen's side (e.g., *Buddhacarita,* I, 9; *Ta-wu-liang-shou-ching* [*T.* 12:265]). This has been depicted in art; a typical example is the statue in the Māyā Devī temple at Lumbinī.

139. *Ṛg Veda,* X, 90, 11–12.

140. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 52–53.

141. Regarding the dragons (*nāga*) in the Buddha legend, see Yūshō Miyasaka, "Butsuden ni mieru nāga ni tsuite—Indo kodaishi no ichidanmen" (The Nāga in the Buddha legend—one aspect of ancient Indian history), *Chisan gakuhō,* nos. 12, 13 (1964): 145–63. Also by the same author, "Nāga sūhai to buzokuteki mikkyō—Nāga kenkyū yoteki" (Nāga worship and tribal esotericism—Gleanings from Nāga research), in *Indo kotenron,* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1983), pp. 134–36. Tesshin Kadokawa, "Butsuden ni okeru ryūō kambutsu ni tsuite" (Consecration of the Buddha by the dragon kings in Buddhist legend), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 16, no. 1 (December 1967): 118–19. For the use of the word *nāga* in Buddhist writings, see Akira Sadakata, "Butten ni okeru nāga" (The Nāga in Buddhist sutras), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 20, no. 1 (December 1971): 443–48. Also see "Elefant," "Schlange" in *Paul Thieme Kleine Schriften,* vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Frantz Steiner Verlag Gmbh, 1971), pp. 443, 513.

142. *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 28 (*T.* 2:703bff.).

143. Keimu Tsuda, "Shakuson no gōtan to kanjō ni arawaretaru fumetsu no kannen" (The idea of deathlessness as it appears in the birth of Śākyamuni and the consecration), *Shūkyō kenkyū,* n.s., 4, no. 2 (1927): 71ff.

144. First century B.C.E. (Sugiyama, *Indo no bijutsu,* no. 26). Other examples: "Birth and consecration," beginning of second century, Peshawar Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 20; Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* pl. 7-5; *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 10). "The dragon deities pouring streams of hot and cold water over the prince" (Tō, *Tonkō e no michi,* p. 96). "The dragon kings Nanda and Upananda venerating the standing Sakyamuni, washing him after his birth," second–third century, Government Museum, Mathurā, H.2 (Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum,* p. 126). "The dragon kings venerating the newborn Buddha," Kuṣāṇa dynasty (R. C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum and Art, A Comprehensive Pictorial Guide Book,* 2d ed. [Mathurā: Government Museum, 1976], fig. 25).

For interpretations of these legends, see Tesshin Kadokawa, "Butsuden ni okeru ryūō kambutsu ni tsuite," pp. 118–19.

145. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 53.

146. This legend does not appear in the most ancient Buddhist writings, but it does appear in later Chinese translations. For example, in the *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching,* translated by Chih Ch'ien, early third century: "On the evening of the eighth day of the fourth month, when the morning star appeared in the sky, [he was] born from the right side [of his mother] and fell down on the ground, immediately took seven steps and stopped, raising his right hand and saying, 'In all of heaven and earth, I alone am to be honored. The three realms are all suffering: how can there be any ease?' At this time the earth made a great shaking and within the palace all was radiant" (*T.* 3:473c). See also other writings focusing on the life of the Buddha, such as *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching, P'u-yao-ching,* and *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching.*

The intent of such legendary material was to suggest that Gotama Buddha was endowed from birth with a mysterious wisdom. The purport of "seven steps" is related to the ancient Indian reverence for the number seven (for example, the Seven Sages, the Seven Buddhas). The legend certainly exerted an influence in China. (Hiroshi Kōzen, "Naze shichiho ka" (Why Seven Steps?), *Chikuma* [November 1967]: 2–6). The Chinese poet Ts'ao Chih (192–232) composed a poem while walking seven steps, and there is a famous poem entitled "Verse of the Seven Steps."

147. Tesshin Kadokawa, "Butsuden ni okeru tanjōge no keisei katei" (Processes in the formation of the birth verse found in Buddha legends), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 15, no. 2 (March 1967): 140–41.

148. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 52.

149. *MN,* no. 123, *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta. Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 8:

Wei-ts'eng-yu-fa-ching (*T.* 1:469c–71c). For a cogent explanation of the meaning of this sutra in terms of Buddha biography, see, for example, Kōgen Mizuno, "Shakuson no gōtan ni kansuru densetsu no nazo" (Mysteries in the legends concerning the birth of Śākyamuni), *Daisekai* (March 1957).

150. For an examination of the various theories of the Buddha's dates, see Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2 (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1933), 597–601; Hakuju Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* (Studies in Indian philosophy), vol. 2 (1965; reprint, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1982), pp. 1–113; Hajime Nakamura, *Indoshi II* (History of India, vol. 2), vol. 6 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997), pp. 581–619. Also see Junjirō Takakusu, "Buttan nisen-gohyakunen" (Twenty-five hundred years after the Buddha's birth) and Fumio Masutani, "Shakuson gōtan nisen-gohyakunen nendai chōsa hōkoku" (Report on the research of the dating of the 2,500 years after the birth of Śākyamuni), both in Buttan Nisen-gohyakunen Kinen Gakkai, ed., *Bukkyōgaku no Shomondai* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1935), pp. 275–96.

More recently, Heinz Bechert has suggested that the Northern tradition is more reasonable concerning the dates of the Buddha, although André Bareau accepts the Southern tradition. Bechert himself, however, does not reach a final conclusion. (Presentation by Bechert at the International Symposium on Jaina Canonical and Narrative Literature, Strasbourg, June 16 19, 1981.) Also see Bechert's "The Problem of the Determination of the Date of the Historical Buddha," *WZKS* 33 (1989): 93–120. Recent Japanese research on the subject includes Ryūshō Hikata, "Shakamuni no seizon nendai" (The dates of Śākyamuni), *Nihon gakushiin kiyō* 36, no. 3 (March 1980): 187–202.

Studies that predate modern research include the discussion about the Buddha's birth and death dates in Kyokuga Saheki's (1828 91) *Yuishikiron meisho zakki* (Miscellaneous notes on the famous phrases in the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*), vol. 1 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1888), sections 1, 31. This is based on Chinese works such as *Chou-shu-i-chi* (周書異記). For the various dates for the Buddha's death suggested in China, Korea, and Japan, and for an explanation of their historical significance, see Hubert Durt, "Butsumetsu nendai saikō—Kan Kan Wa shiryō o chūshin to shite" (Reconsidering the dating of the Buddha's death — centering on Chinese, Korean, and Japanese materials), *Nihon Bukkyōgakkai nempō* 53 (1908): 21–34.

151. Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, vol. 2, pp. 5ff. Inoue and Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden*, pp. 263ff. Hermann Beckh, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. 1 (Berlin: G. J. Göschen, 1916), p. 78. Hermann Jacobi believes that the Buddha died in 484 B.C.E. (See Yenshō Kanakura, *Indo Kodai Seishinshi* (A history of ancient spirituality in India; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1936), pp. 338ff.

152. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 597–601.

153. Mentioned in *Ch'u-san-tsang-chi-chi,* fasc. 11 (*T.* 55:82c); *Li-tai san-pao-chi,* fasc. 11 (*T.* 49:95c); *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao-lu,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 55:535c); *Fo-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 49:544a).

154. *Li-tai-san-pao-chi* (*T.* 49:22).

155. *Shan-chien-lü p'i-p'o-sha* (*T.* 24:673).

156. Masutani, "Shakuson gōtan nisen-gohyakunen nendai chōsa hōkoku," pp. 284–96.

157. *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao-lu,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 55:536a).

158. *Fo-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 49:544a).

159. *Chang-so-chih-lun* (*T.* 32:231b).

160. Gen'ichi Yamazaki, "Upaguputa densetsu kō– Pushirusukii setsu no shōkai o chūshin ni" (The legend of Upagupta—a review of Przyluski's interpretation), in *Tōyōshi ronsō: Enoki hakushi kanreki kinen ronshū* (Studies in Asian history dedicated to Prof. Dr. Enoki on his sixtieth birthday; Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1975), pp. 476–80. For details, refer to Gen'ichi Yamazaki, *Ashōka-ō to sono jidai* (King Aśoka and his time; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1982). His reexamination of the year of the Buddha's death is found on pp. 257–82.

161. *Tsa a-han-ching; Divyāv.*, p. 368, pass.

162. The *Shih-pao-pu-lun* gives: "One hundred sixteen years after the death of the Buddha, there was a city called Pāṭaliputta. King Asoka, king of Jambudīpa, keeping order over the land. At that time, the great *saṅgha* was divided into sects, and the Dharma was diversified" (*T.* 49:18a). The *Pu-chih-i-lun* gives: "After the Buddha Bhagavant's death, a full one hundred years, it was like the bright sun being hidden behind Mount Asta. After a hundred years and sixteen more, there was a great country called Pāṭaliputta. The king's name was Asoka, king of Jambudīpa. His great white umbrella covered the land. During that time, the *saṅgha* fragmented" (*T.* 49:20a).

163. Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū.*

164. Karl Julius Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte,* IV, 2 (Berlin, 1927).

165. Eugen Hultzsch, ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* vol. 1, *The Inscriptions of Asoka,* new rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), pp. xxxi, xxxvi.

166. See Hajime Nakamura, *Indoshi II,* 581–619. Some scholars doubt that such a large number of works could have been composed in such a small amount of time if King Aśoka were crowned around a hundred years after the Buddha's death. I maintain that the prose sections of the early Buddhist scriptures were compiled after the time of King Aśoka.

167. Hajime Nakamura, "Mauriya ōchō no nendai ni tsuite" (The dating of the Mauryan dynasty), *Tōhōgaku* 10 (1955): 115–42. I discuss the points raised in this article in detail in my *Indoshi II.*

168. For the date of the Buddha's birth, see Makoto Zemba, "Indo koreki to Bukkyō tenmonreki" (The ancient Indian calendar and the Buddhist astronomical calendar), in *Nakano kyōju koki kinen rombunshū* (A collection of works in com-

memoration of Professor Nakano's seventieth birthday; Wakayama: Kōyasan University, 1960), 213–18. For legends transmitted to Japan, see the related topics in Shinkō Mochizuki, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* (Mochizuki's encylopedia of Buddhism), 10 vols. (Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1932–63).

169. Mochizuki, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten,* vol. 3, 2126ff.

170. *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching:* "On the evening of the eighth day of the fourth month, when the bright star is appearing" (*T.* 3:473c). *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan* (*T.* 4:1a). No mention is made of the time in the Sanskrit original. This may be an addition made by the translator, Dharmakṣema (385 433).

171. I discuss this point in more detail in the second volume of this book.

172. *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 1:30a–b):

> On the eighth day, the Tathāgata was born; on the eighth day, the Buddha renounced the world; on the eighth day, the Buddha attained enlightenment; on the eighth day [he] passed into extinction; on the eighth day was born the most honored of two-legged beings [the Buddha]; on the eighth day [he] came out of the sanctuary of austerities; on the eighth day [he] attained the supreme Way; on the eighth day [he] entered the realm of nirvana. In the second month, the Tathāgata was born; in the second month, the Buddha renounced the world; in the second month, the Buddha attained enlightenment; on the eighth day [he] passed into extinction; in the second month was born the most honored of two-legged beings [the Buddha]; in the second month [he] came out of the sanctuary of austerities; in the second month [he] attained the supreme Way; on the eighth day [he] entered the realm of nirvana.

I discuss the dates of Sakyamuni in my *Indoshi II,* vol. 6 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997). Recent research includes W. Pachaw, "A Study of the Dotted Record," *JAOS* 85 (September 1965): 342–49. Theories on this subject from scholars around the world have been collected in Heinz Bechert, ed., *The Dating of the Historical Buddha,* part 1, Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung 4, I (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991). This collection is the report of the symposium on Buddhist research conducted by the Göttingen Academy of Sciences, April 11–18, 1988, and also includes papers by some who did not attend the symposium.

173. Suddhodana's visit: Archaeological Museum, Amarāvatī (*WOB,* pl. 18): eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB,* pl. 19). The return and ablutions: Third–fourth century, from Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. 28); "A small privy, with two people cleaning outside" (Tō, *Tonkō e no michi,* p. 96); "Return to Kapilavastu" (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 12).

174. A sage (*isi*) named Asita was the court priest (*purohita*) of Suddhodana's father, Sīhahanu. He acted as teacher of arts (*sippācariya*) for Suddhodana before his accession, after which time he became court priest (*Pj.,* p. 479). The legend of

Asita prophesying the Buddha's future when he was born at Kapilavatthu: *Sn.*, III, 11; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 54, l. 32; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 49–57; *Buddha-carita*, I, 54; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fascs. 2, 3 (*T.* 24:108a–10b); *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 1: *Ta-pen-ching* (*T.* 1:4c–5a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:627a–28a); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:473c–74a); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:463c–65a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:556b–c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 3:693c–98b); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:496a–b).

Artistic expressions of the legend include: "Asita's prophecy," second–third century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 10); second century, from Amarāvatī, British Museum (*WOB*, pl. II-29); second–third century, from Naogram, Lahore Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra*, pl. 142); Borobuḍur, relief (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 32); third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB*, pl. II-30; *Nagarj.*, pl. XVII); eleventh century, Ānanda Temple in Pagan, Myanmar (*WOB*, pl. II-31); third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB* pl. II-32; *Nagarj.*, pl. XXV, p. 160); from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 13).

175. *Sn.*, 679. "Thirty Deities": the group of the thirty deities (*tidisa-gana*). Buddhaghosa notes that this refers to the Thirty-three Deities (*tidisagaṇa* = *Tāvatiṃsa*; *Pj.*, p. 484). In a note in his translation of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, T. W. Rhys Davids translates *Tāvatiṃsa* as "the gods in the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three" (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, part 2, 4th ed., vol. 3 of Sacred Books of the Buddhists [London: Pali Text Society, 1959], 103, 104, note 2). In the *Mahāpari-nirvāṇa-sūtra* (p. 190) it says *tridaśe pratiṣṭhitā*, which the Chinese version (*P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 36 [*T.* 24:387a]) translates as *San-shih-san-t'ien* (三十三天; "Thirty-three deities"). Most Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures give either *San-shih-san-t'ien* or *Tao-li-t'ien* (忉利天; a phonetic translation of *Tāvatiṃsa*). Later Abhidhamma commentaries indicated that a total of thirty-three deities lived on the summit of Mount Sumeru, in the second heaven of the realm of desire; they comprised Indra (the most powerful deity in the *Ṛg Veda*) and eight deities in each of the directions. See *AN*, vol. 3, p. 339; *Sv.*, vol. 1, p. 310; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 1, p. 262.

176. *Sn.*, 680, 681.

177. *Sn.*, 682. "Quickly": *khippa*. Other recensions have the adverbial form *khippaṃ*, and this is how I interpret it.

178. "In the grove of the sages" (*Isivhaye vane*) refers to Sārnāth on the outskirts of Bārāṇasī. Today it is grassy, but at the time it must have been wooded and therefore called *vana* (grove). "Turn the wheel [of the Dharma]" refers to the Buddha's preaching activities.

179. *Sn.*, 683–87. "Overwhelming rapture welled up"; *alattha pītiṃ* = *pītiṃ labhi* (*Pj.*, p. 487).

180. *Sn.*, 688. A parasol is the symbol of regal authority. Buddhaghosa (*Pj.*, p. 487) glosses it "divine white parasol" (*dibbasetacchatta*). "Fluttered up and down": *vītipatantī ti sarīraṃ vījamānā, patanuppatanaṃ karonti* (*Pj.*, p. 487).

181. *Asita* means "black," as does *Kaṇha*. *Śrī*, the Sanskrit form of Hindī *siri*, is the usual honorific title employed in India. The equivalent of the Sanskrit form, as in *Śrīkṛṣṇa*, is often used even today. *Asitavhayassā* (v. 686): *ti Asitanāmassa dutiyena nāmena Kaṇhadevalassa isino. . . . Kaṇhasirivhyaho* (v. 689): *ti kaṇhasaddena ca siri-saddena ca avhayamāno, taṃ kira Sirikaṇho ti pi avhayanti, āmantenti, ālapantī ti vuttaṃ hoti* (*Pj.*, p. 487). "Matted locks" (*jaṭi*) is regularly translated into Chinese as *lo-chi* (螺髻) or *lo-fa* (螺髮), "spiral hair," because this style of hair tied in a tuft looks like the protuberance of a spiral shell. Such hair can be seen on Indian ascetics even today.

182. "He, the one . . . mantras"; *so lakkhaṇamantapāragū ti lakkhaṇānañ ca vedānañ ca pāragato* (*Pj.*, ad v. 690). The chief task of the Brahmins of the time would have been the ability to prophesy according to distinctive marks and the mastery of the *Vedas*.

183. "Which is supremely purified" is equal in meaning to nirvana. The expression is used because everything included in nirvana is absolutely purified.

184. "Holy life" refers to the Buddha's teachings (*brahmacariyaṃ ti sāsanaṃ* [*Pj.*, p. 489]). This means that his teachings are actual practice.

185. *Sn.*, 689–97. "Holy man": *tādin*. For my reasoning behind this interpretation, see my *Vēdānta tetsugaku no hatten* (The development of Vedanta philosophy; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1955), 500, 501. Early Jainism employed *tāin*.

186. For the *cakkavattin* and the thirty-two signs, see *DN*, no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-suttanta*, I, 5 (vol. 1, pp. 88–89).

187. It already appears in the *Ssu-fen-lü* (*T.* 22:779b–c).

188. *Sn.*, 698. "Realm of the supreme sages": *moneyyaseṭṭha* = *ñāṇuttama* = *maggañāṇa*, the highest of pure practices.

189. *Sn.*, 699, 700.

190. The oldest of the prose versions of the birth legend is the *Acchariyabbhuta-dhamma-sutta* (*MN*, no. 123, vol. 3, pp. 118–24). For a detailed examination of this point, see Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt*, pp. 103–43.

191. *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, *DN*, no. 14, I, 29 (vol. 2, p. 15).

192. Verses similar to this one exist only in Chinese translations of works composed at a later period; they have not been found in Sanskrit or Pāli texts. For example, see *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 1: *Ta-pen-ching* (*T.* 1:4c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:687b); *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 20 (*T.* 24:298a); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:902a).

193. *Bṛhad. Up.*, III, 6, 1, cf. *Bṛhad. Up.*, III, 7, 2; *Bṛhad. Up.*, III, 9, 27; *Chānd. Up.*, V, 12, 2, cf. *Chānd. Up.*, I, 3, 26. Under their influence, Buddhism also threatened that the head would split (*Sn.*, 1025, 1026; *Dhp.*, 72). Also, "the head will break into seven fragments" (*SN*, "Sagāthavagga," II, 1, 9, 6; vol. 1, p. 50). Also refer to notes in my Japanese translation of the *Suttanipāta* (*Budda no kotoba* [The words of the Buddha; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984], 415–17).

194. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 54–55.

195. "Silken": The original text says *duṣya*, which I interpret as *dūṣya*. This sec-

tion corresponds to a passage in the seventh fascicle of the *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching* (*T.* 3:685bff.), though there are considerable differences in the content. The *Mahāvastu* version is easier to understand.

196. *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, pp. 18–19.

197. *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, p. 20.

198. *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, p. 22.

199. *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:687b).

200. *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, p. 23.

201. "Right side": in Chinese translation *yu-hsieh* (右脇; "right side"); in the original, *pārśvāt* ("side"). Considering generally accepted ideas among Indians, however, without doubt we can translate it as "right side."

202. Translated into Chinese as *kuan-ting* (灌頂; "sprinking water on the head [in consecration])."

203. "*T'ien-tzu*": 天子.

204. The expression *arthaḥ sidhyati,* meaning "to achieve one's purpose," is very common.

205. "Hsi-t'o t'ai-tzu": 悉陀太子.

206. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 55–56.

207. *Jātaka,* p. 57.

CHAPTER 2: YOUTH

1. For example, the *Buddhacarita* and the *Nidānakathā*. For accounts of the Buddha's childhood and youth, see the various Chinese translations of Buddha lives in the bibliography of this book and the *Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 54f. Frequently quoted is Henry Clarke Warren's translation of the appropriate section in the latter, *Buddhism in Translations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), 48–56. Other materials for reference include Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1 (Rome: IsMEO, 1977), pp. 57–61; Salomon Lefmann, ed., *Lalitavistara: Leben und Lehre des Çâkya-Buddha* (Halle a S.: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1902 8), VIIIf.; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:110b–11c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:627c–28a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 11 (*T.* 3:703b–5b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:559a–60b); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:498a–99a).

2. *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 49, 52); *Buddhacarita,* II, 18. "When seven full days had passed since the prince was born, his mother's life ended" (*Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 1 [*T.* 3:627c]).

3. *Buddhacarita,* II, 19. "Then the younger sister of the mother, Mahāpajāpatī, nursed the prince, like his own mother, with no difference at all" (*Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 1 [*T.* 3:627c]). Mahāpajāpatī: *Mahā* is part of the name

itself, not an honorific title. Similarly, the element *ācarya* in the name Śaṅkarācārya is not an honorific title but part of the name.

4. *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 50 (*T.* 2:821–22); *Ta-ai-tao pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 2:867–69); *Fo-mu pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 2:869–70).

5. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 57.

6. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 57.

7. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 59–60.

8. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 57–58.

9. Ikṣvāku dynasty, third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Kōichi Machida, ed., *Nyūderī bijutsukan* [National Museum, New Delhi], vol. 5 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1978], p. 161, no. 52).

10. Legends concerning the prince's education: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 57; *Buddhacarita*, II, 18–19; *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:495a–b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:627c–28a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3: 556a–b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:4b); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:474b–c).

11. *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:474b–c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:627c).

12. Lefmann, *Lalitavistara*, pp. 124–26. Dharmarakṣa's 308 C.E. Chinese translation of this, *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:498a), translates *Viśvāmitra* as *hsüan-yu* (選友; "chosen friend") and *lipiśālā* as *shu-t'ang* (書堂; "writing hall"). The *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 11 (*T.* 3:703b), translates the latter as *hsüeh-t'ang* (学堂; "hall of learning"). The *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:559), called *Viśvāmitra po-shih* (博士; "learned person") and the school *hsüeh-t'ang*.

13. *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 3:465b).

14. Pa-t'o-lo-ni: 跋陀羅尼 (*T.* 3:628a).

15. Going to school: fourth century, from Gandhāra. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (*WOB*, pl. II-36); second–fourth century, from Gandhāra. Peshawar Museum (*WOB*, pl. II-37); eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-38; Yūken Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru* [Nagoya: Ajia Bunka Kōryū Sentā, 1987], p. 85); from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 14, 15).

16. Takashi Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* (Sakyamuni in the fine arts; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979], no. 13.

17. *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 11 (*T.* 3:704a).

18. Descriptions relating to his meditation experiences when young: *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:560b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:629a–b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 12 (*T.* 3:705b–7a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:499a–c).

19. *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*, *MN*, no. 36 (vol. 1, p. 246).

20. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 58.

21. *AN*, III, 38 (vol. 1, p. 145). *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 29 (117): *Jou-juan-ching*

(*T.* 1:607c–8a); *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 12 (*T.* 2:608). The Pāli version does not mention where the words were spoken. A similar story is told of the life of Vipassin Buddha (*DN,* no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta* [vol. 2, p. 21]).

22. *Atisitvā,* derived from *atisarati,* "to overlook, ignore" (V. Treubner, Dines Andersen, Helmer Smith, and Hans Hendriksen, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary,* vol. 1 [Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 1924–48], p. 91).

23. *AN,* III, 38 (vol. 1, pp. 145–46). The Chinese translation uses the expressions *lao-fa* (老法; "law of old age"), *ping-fa* (病法; "law of sickness"), and *ssu-fa* (死法; "law of death"), which we can interpret as "It is my fate that I am also destined to grow old, to fall ill, to die, and I cannot escape that fate."

24. *AN,* vol. 1, pp. 146–47.

25. *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha-sutta, MN,* no. 14 (vol. 1, p. 92).

26. *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha-sutta, MN,* no. 14 (vol. 1, p. 92). *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 25 (100): *K'u-ying-ching* (*T.* 1:586 88).

27. *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 29 (117): *Jou-juan-ching* (*T.* 1:607c–8a).

28. *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 12 (*T.* 2:608b–c).

29. *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:101b 2a). This text tells of the prince setting out from the eastern, southern, and western gates, but not from the northern. It only says that "he turned his chariot around and returned" (*T.* 22:101c). See also *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:502c–3a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 14 (*T.* 3:719c–25b).

30. The *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (*MN,* no. 26 [vol. 1, pp. 160 75]) tells, in the form of a discourse given by the Buddha to his followers, of his reflections up until the time of his renunciation, his practice under Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, his meditation and enlightenment at Uruvelā, what led to his decision to preach the Law, and his first discourse at Deer Park. See also the Chinese version, *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:775–78).

31. *Ariyapariyesana-sutta, MN,* no. 26 (vol. 1, p. 163). *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (204) (*T.* 1:776a–b). A similar reflection occurs in the *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha-sutta, MN,* no. 14 (vol. 1, p. 91), and *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 25 (100): *K'u-yin-ching* (*T.* 1:586bff.)

32. *DN,* no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta* (vol. 2, pp. 21 22).

33. *Buddhacarita,* III, 26 62. The earliest reference to this episode in the Pāli texts is in the *Vimānavatthu* 81. (H. Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* [Berlin: W. Hertz, 1881], p. 114.)

34. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 58–59.

35. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 59.

36. For example, *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:466b 67c), etc.

37. Legends concerning "The Excursion from the Four Gates": *DN,* no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta,* II, 3 (vol. 2, p. 23); *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 58, l. 31; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 65–75; *Buddhacarita,* III, 26 65; *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:101b–2a); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:112c–14a); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-*

ching, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:466b–67c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:474b–75a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:629c–30b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 14 (*T.* 3:719c–20c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:570a–c); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:502c–3c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:5c–6c).

38. From Sāñcī (*ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 9); sixth century, from Ajantā (*WOB,* pl. 44); "Seeing the old man": eighth century, from Borobuḍur (*WOB,* pl. II-45; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 94); "Seeing the sick man": eighth century, from Borobuḍur (*WOB,* pl. II-46; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 95); "Seeing the corpse": eighth century, from Borobuḍur (*WOB,* pl. II-47; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 95); "Seeing the *bhikkhu*": eighth century, from Borobuḍur (*WOB,* pl. II-48; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 96); "The prince's excursion": (Daijō Tokiwa and Tadashi Sekino, *Chūgoku Bunka Shiseki* [Historical sites of Chinese culture], vol. 1 [Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1975], p. 3).

39. "The newly married couple observing birth, old age, sickness, and death in the human being": from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 21).

40. Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 75–76; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:114a). The subject in Buddhist art: latter half of second century, from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum (Osamu Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen* [Origin of Buddhist images; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967], pl. 41); third–fourth century, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (*WOB,* pl. 33; *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 20); eleventh century, Ānanda Temple, Pagan, Myanmar (*WOB,* pl. 34, 35; Kengo Tō, *Tonkō e no michi* [The way to Tun-huang; Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1978], p. 96; Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, and Ryōjun Satō, *Budda no sekai* [Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980], p. 472); "Watching the farm laborers under the tree": Borobuḍur (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 86).

41. *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:475a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:629b).

42. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 58.

43. Chizen Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* (Dictionary of Indian Buddhist proper names; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), pp. 781–82. *Yasodharā* means "lady who preserves honor" or "lady of honor." The Chinese transliterates it as Yeh-shu-t'o-lo (耶輸陀羅). The name Yaśodharā is also recorded in Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 82f.

44. Oldenberg, *Buddha,* p. 119.

45. *AN,* vol. 1, p. 25.

46. Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten,* p. 84.

47. P. L. Vaidya, ed., *Lalitavistara,* Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, vol. 1 (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1958), pp. 100–6; R. Mitra, ed., *Lalita Vistara, or, Memoirs of the Early Life of Śākya Suñha,* Bibliotheca Indica 15 (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1853–77), pp. 162f.; Lefmann, *Lalitavistara,* pp. 142f. Hermann Beckh says that the *Lalitavistara* gives Yaśovatī (*Der Buddhismus,* vol. 1 [Berlin: Sammlung Göschen, 1916], p. 82.) *Buddhacarita,* II, 46. "At that time a Sakya, Daṇḍapāṇi, had an

infant girl. Her name was Yasodharā. [Her] figure was seemly, a rare [person] in the world" (*P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 [*T.* 24:111c]).

48. In the *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:465b), Ch'iu-i (裘夷); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:472c–73a), Ch'u-i (瞿夷; Gopī? Gopikā?); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:502a), Chu-i (俱夷). This legend was widely known in Japan. In Murasaki Shikibu's *Genji monogatari* (Tale of the Genji), fasc. 4, is the phrase, "[I] wish that I had the insight of Prince Kui [Ch., Ch'u-i], who instinctively knew the truth about his birth." Tokuhei Yamagishi commented on this as follows:

> Prince Kui was Śākyamuni's legitimate son, known as Rāhula. He was so called because his mother's name was Kui [Gopī]. The *Genchūsaihishō* [a commentary on the *Genji monogatari,* originally compiled in the thirteenth century by Minamoto no Chikayuki] says: "Rāhula was the son of Kui." Kui was Siddhārtha's principal wife. Chapter five of the *Jikkinshō* [the thirteenth-century collection of tales with moral lessons for the young], in the part concerning Emperor Ankō [r. 453–56], says: "The Tathāgata Śākyamuni married Kui [Gopī], and did not lessen his aspiration for enlightenment." . . . All Blue-Covered manuscripts, including Yoshida and Hokuni manuscripts, besides the source book [for Yamagishi's edition, i.e., the Sanjōnishi manuscript], give Prince Zengyō, but Emperor Goyōzei and Kujō manuscripts add [*kana* beside Chinese characters] which read "Kuī." The identity of "Zengyō" is not clear, but it could refer to Subhadra, that is, Zenken [Ch., Shan-chien] (*Genji monogatari,* edited and annotated by Tokuhei Yamagishi, vol. 17 of *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* [Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962], p. 497, additional n. 265).

However, the sutras referred to above all say that Subhadra was the father of Gopī.

49. G. P. Malalasekera, ed., *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (London: Luzac & Co., 1960), vol. 2, pp. 741–44. References to her are all gathered under the entry "Rāhulamātā."

50. "At that time the Bodhisatta had three wives. Migajā, Gopikā, and Yasodharā. Yasodharā was the principal [wife]. Each of the three wives had 20,000 female attendants" (*P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 [*T.* 24:114b]). See Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten,* p. 423.

51. "When the prince had reached seventeen, the king furnished [him] with a consort" (*T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 [*T.* 3:475a]). The Chinese character *wei* (為) should here be read as the dative. This character can be interpreted as "à cause de cela, pour cette raison" (Stanislas Julien, *Syntax nouvelle de la langue chinoise,* vol. 1 [Paris: Libraire de Maisonneuve, 1869], p. 120.)

52. Legends regarding the selection of a bride: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 58, l. 11; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 62, 64, 78. Reports that Sakyamuni had a number of wives: *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:111c–12c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-*

ching, fasc. 12 (*T.* 3:707a–8c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:561a–b); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:500a–c). Refer also to note 1 in this chapter.

Legends about the marriage: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 62, 64, 78; *Buddhacarita,* II, 26–33; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:111c–12c, 114b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 13 (*T.* 3:712c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:564c–65a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:502a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:629b); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:463b–c).

Artistic representations of the betrothal: from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 18); second–third century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 18, 20). Marriage to Yasodharā: second–third century, from Gandhāra, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 19). Depiction of the wedding ceremony between the Bodhisatta and Yasodharā with the hands of the couple joined and held over a flame. Water pitchers are beside the fire: from Gandhāra (*WOB,* pl. II-40). The wedding ceremony: *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 19; also shown at Borobuḍur (eighth century). Brahmins anointing with water (*WOB,* pl. 41). The bride accompanied by the court priest meeting the prince: Peshawar Museum (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 18; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* pp. 87–88, 91).

53. *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 10 (*T.* 24:149b–150a).

54. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 60, l. 20; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 2, pp. 30–32; *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:5a).

55. *Rāhulajāto, bandhanaṃ jātaṃ ti* (*Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 60).

56. *Buddhacarita,* II, 46.

57. *Sn.,* 465, 498.

58. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 60.

59. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 58.

60. Legends relating to the archery competition: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 58, l. 24; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 62–64; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24: 112b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:564b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:628c–29a); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:474b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 13 (*T.* 3:710b–11a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:501c–2a).

The archery competition in art: eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB,* pl. II-39); from Peshawar (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 91; *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 16; Tō, *Tonkō e no michi,* p. 97). Suddhodana greeting the victorious Prince Siddhattha: from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 17).

61. The legend of the wrestling match: *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:111b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 13 (*T.* 3:711c–12a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:564a–b); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:501c). The wrestling match in art: Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* p. 472.

62. The legend of subduing the elephant: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, p. 57; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:111a–b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 13 (*T.* 3:712a–b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:628b–c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying*

pen-ch'i-ching, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:474b); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:465c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:562b–c); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:501a).

63. *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:102a).

64. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 61.

65. Legends relating to the slovenly attitudes of the sleeping women: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 61, l. 13; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 81–82; *Lalitavistara*, p. 251; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, p. 159; *Buddhacarita*, V, 44–65; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:115a–c); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:467b–c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:474c–75c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:632a–c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 16 (*T.* 3:728c–29b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 3:573b–74a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:504c–5a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:6c–7b).

The pleasures of the palace in art: second century, from Gandhāra, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 21). Entertainment at the palace the night before the renunciation, the sleeping court women: first half of third century, from Jamrūd, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen*, pl. 30); Kuṣāṇa dynasty, from Gandhāra, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Chikyō Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū* [The roots of Buddhist art; Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1981], pl. 66); third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB*, pl. 43; Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1971], pl. 119); Amarāvatī (*WOB*, pl. 49); eighth century, Borobuḍur, showing three palaces (*WOB*, pl. 42; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 22 et seq.).

66. The significance of the Buddha's renunciation in terms of modern existential philosophy is discussed by Yoshinori Takeuchi in "Budda no shutsudō" (Buddha's renunciation of the secular world), *Tetsugaku kikan*, no. 4 (1947): 94–124. Takeuchi discusses the Buddha's search for the Way from the viewpoint of comparative religions in "Gudō jidai no Budda" (The Buddha when seeking the Way), *Tetsugaku kenkyū* 34, no. 2 (1950): 1–17 and 37, no. 10 (1955): 1–17.

67. *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:776b). See also the verse quoted below in the text.

68. The following scriptures state that Gotama renounced the world at the age of nineteen: *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:467c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:475b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:632b); *Ta-chih-tu-lun*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 25:80c). Those that favor the age of twenty-nine are discussed in Chizen Akanuma, *Shakuson* (Śākyamuni; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1934), p. 205 et seq. Following are citations on this issue.

Indic sources: "When I was twenty-nine, Subhadda, I left home to seek the good. Now more than fifty years have passed, Subhadda, since I renounced the world" (*Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, V, 27). The Sanskrit text is identical:

> ekonatriṃśo vayasā Subhadra

yat prāvrajaṃ kiṃ kuśalaṃ gaveṣī/
pañcāśad varṣāṇi samādhikāni
yataścāhaṃ pravrajitaḥ Subhadra//

(*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, 40, 29; Ernst Waldschmidt, ed., *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950–51], p. 376).

Chinese sources: "In the past I left home, and [after] twelve years I attained the Way and achieved buddhahood. I began preaching and teaching the Law, and fifty years have passed since I abandoned my home" (*Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, fasc. 1 [*T.* 1:187c]). The passage from this Chinese translation of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* indicates, however, that Gotama would have left home at nineteen, since he died at eighty. "Forty-nine years have passed since I began converting and teaching" (*Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, fasc. 1 [*T.* 1:171c]). "When I was twenty-nine I renounced the world and sought the Way of good, Subhadda. Fifty years have passed since I attained buddhahood" (*Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 4: *Yu-hsing-ching* [*T.* 1:25b]). "When I was twenty-nine I renounced the world to seek that which was good. And for fifty-odd years I undertook the practice of discipline, meditation, and wisdom, pursuing only the right principle without having my mind distracted" (*P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 38 [*T.* 24:396c]). "Thereupon at twenty-nine I abandoned my throne and left the palace. For six years I undertook ascetic practice, and then I attained perfect enlightenment" (*P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 20 [*T.* 24:299a]). "When I was twenty-nine I renounced the world and learned the Way. At thirty-six, under the *bodhi* tree, I contemplated the ultimate basis of the Noble Eightfold Path and attained perfect and complete enlightenment" (*Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*, fasc. 2 [*T.* 1:204a]). The assumption inherent here that Gotama practiced austerities for seven years agrees with the "seven years of austerities" of ancient *gāthās* in the Pāli canon. Comparatively ancient scriptures say that the Buddha renounced the world at twenty-nine: "At the prime age of twenty-nine . . . [I], with a perfect mind, abandoned home, [entered] homelessness, and studied the Way" (*Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* [*T.* 1:776b]). "When the crown prince was twenty-nine, he firmly determined to renounce the world and study the Way. On the very day [he] renounced the world, [he] attained buddhahood that same evening" (*Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 13 [*T.* 2:609c]). The assertion that Gotama attained buddhahood as soon as he renounced the world is worthy of note. This does not reflect the idea of sudden enlightenment but indicates the ordinary practice at the time of calling all who had renounced the world to seek the Way "buddha," as seen in the such texts as the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*. "The Buddha renounced the world at twenty-nine and attained the Way at thirty-five" (*Fo-shou shih-erh-yu-ching*, fasc. 4 [*T.* 4:146c–47a]). The period between the Buddha's renunciation and enlightenment is also described in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* (*MN*, no. 36 [vol. 2, pp. 237–51]), of which there is no Chinese equivalent. The episode is known in the West especially through the *Nidānakathā*. See Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 56–71.

69. *Ariyapariyesana-sutta, MN,* no. 26 (vol. 1, p. 163). *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:776b). Cf. *Mahāsaccaka-sutta, MN,* no. 36 (vol. 1, p. 240). "At that time, the Bodhisatta gradually grew in magnificence, endowed with various powers. In a quiet place, he thought,

> "When I observe the world, there is suffering everywhere. There is birth, there is old age, there is sickness, there is death, there is dying in this [world] and then rebirth in another. Because of the body, suffering is never-ending. How can such a life of suffering be exhausted?" At that time the Bodhisatta was in his youth. His hair was reddish blue, and his facial attributes were special. When he was in his prime, he did not have a desire for pleasure in his mind; his father and mother lamented and cried, not wanting him to renounce the world and study the Way. But the Bodhisatta went against his parents' [wishes] and cut off his own hair and beard, put on the robe [of a *samaṇa*], and abandoned his home to enter into homelessness (*Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 [*T.* 22:779c]).

70. *Soṇadaṇḍa-suttanta, DN,* no. 4 (vol. 1, p. 115). *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 15 (22): *Chung-te-ching* (*T.* 1:95a).

71. *Kūṭadanta-suttanta, DN,* no. 5 (vol. 1, pp. 131–32).

72. Legends of the renunciation are found in *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 61, l. 31; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 84–91; *Lalitavistara,* p. 277; *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, p. 141; *Buddhacarita,* V, 65–87; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:115c–17b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 3:574c–76a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:505b–6a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 17 (*T.* 3:730b–33b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:9b–10c).

The renunciation in art: Leaving the city, the sleeping palace women: first half of third century, Gandhāra, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 30; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 22); third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Terukazu Akiyama, ed., *Gime Tōyō Bijutsukan* [Guimet Museum], vol. 14 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], pl. 6); Amarāvatī (*WOB,* pl. II-49); third century, from Haḍḍa (Akiyama, *Gime Tōyō Bijutsukan,* pl. 56); eighth century, Borobuḍur, with three palaces shown (*WOB,* pl. 42; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* pp. 97–98). Life in the palace (upper panel), renunciation (lower panel): second century, from Jamrūd, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Banri Namikawa, *Namikawa Banri shashinshū— Gandara* [Banri Namikawa's photo collection: Gandhāra; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984], pl. 43). Birth, renunciation, leaving the palace: second–third century, Peshawar, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Catalogue for the Exhibition of Gandhara Art of Pakistan, 1984, pl. II-7). Life in the palace, renunciation: second–third century, Jamrūd, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Catalogue for the Exhibition of Gandhara Art of Pakistan, 1984, pl. II-8). Flight from the palace: end of first century B.C.E., Sāñcī, Stupa 1, east gateway, front face (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 11; *WOB,* pl. II-50); third century, Amarāvatī,

British Museum (*WOB,* pl. II-51; Osamu Takata and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* [Art of India], vol. 1 [Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 169; *ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 89, 91); third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. II-52; Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu,* vol. 2, pl. 335); third century, Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. II-53; Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu,* vol. 1, pl. 161; Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Indo no busseki to Hindū jiin* [Buddhist sites of India and Hindu temples], vol. 5 of *Sekai no bunka shiseki* [Historical sites of culture in the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], p. 60, no. 7; Tetsujirō Inoue and Kentoku Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden* [Biography of Śākyamuni, enlarged edition; Tokyo: Maekawa Bun'ei-kaku, 1911], p. 96); Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* nos. 22, 23; *Wonder,* pl. XXXV); Borobuḍur (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 99); wall painting, eighth century, Khocho (*West Berlin,* pl. 92).

73. Walter Ruben, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1954), p. 121.

74. "The good": *Kusala.* Cf. *kiṃkusalagavesī* (*MN, Ariyapariyesana-sutta,* no. 26 [vol. 1, pp. 163, 165, 166]).

75. *DN,* no. 16, *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta,* V, 27 (vol. 2, p. 151G).

76. *Na tāvad Buddhā bhagavanto parinirvāyanti yāvad yuvarājā anabhiṣikto bhavati* (*Mahāvastu,* vol. 1, p. 63, l. 3).

77. *SN,* vol. 1, p. 66G.

78. "Nonaction": *akiriyā.* The term probably refers to the idea that there is neither reward nor punishment in the future.

79. *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta, DN,* no. 2, 17–18 (vol. 1, pp. 52–53).

80. *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta, DN,* no. 2, 23–24 (vol. 1, p. 55).

81. *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta, DN,* no. 2, 26–27 (vol. 1, p. 56).

82. The *Saṃyutta-Nikāya,* the oldest scripture that introduces non-Buddhist philosophies and their teachers (*SN,* vol. 1, p. 66 G; *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 49 [*T.* 2:359c–60a]), mentions Pūraṇa Kassapa and Pakudha Kaccāyana and their practices, but Ajita's name does not appear.

83. Also called *nekkhamma.* For the meaning of this word and of *abhinikkhamma,* see Genjun H. Sasaki, "The Historical Evolution of the Concept of Negation: *Nekkhamma* and *Naiṣkarmya,*" *JAOS* 83, no. 4 (1963): 477–84.

84. *DN,* no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta* (vol. 2, p. 52).

85. *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:102a–b).

86. The *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:634a), says: "The attendant Channa, trying to dissuade Prince Siddhattha from renouncing the world, made a final plea, but the prince reasoned with him as follows: 'Do not say such things. All things in the world are made to part; none remain together unchanging forever. On the seventh day after my birth my mother died. Even mother and child are parted by death. How much more unrelated people. Do not follow me. Return to the palace with my horse, Kanthaka, which I rode here.' The prince thus urged [Channa] repeatedly, but Channa was reluctant to leave."

87. Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India* (London: Trübner, 1871), pp. 486ff.

88. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 1, p. 103.

89. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 61–64.

90. The legend of cutting the hair: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 64, l. 28; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 91, 93; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, p. 195; *Buddhacarita*, VI; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:117b–c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 3: 576a–c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:633b); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:475c–76a); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:468a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 18 (*T.* 3:735a–b); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:506a–b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:10b–c).

Cutting the hair in art: eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-55; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 100); Tibetan banner, seventeenth century, Musée Guimet (*WOB*, pl. II-56); Ikṣvāku dynasty, third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Machida, *Nyūderī bijutsukan*, no. 5). One version of the legend relates that Gotama parted from Kanthaka and cut his hair and beard upon entering the grove of the ascetics. Indra received the hair and beard with a heavenly robe, leaving not even a strand, and ascending to the Heaven of the Thirty-three enshrined it in the Vejayanta Palace. Indra and others venerating Gotama's hair at Vejayanta Palace: second century B.C.E., Bhārhut, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB*, pl. II-57). Gods holding up the Buddha's head ornaments: third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, National Museum, New Delhi (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 241; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 31). Carrying Gotama's hair (*Nagarj.*, p. 114, pl. XVI). The Bodhisatta receiving a *bhikkhu*'s robe: eighth century, Borobudur (*WOB*, pl. II-58). Parting with Kanthaka: second–fourth century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (*WOB*, pl. II-54). The groom and horse returning from the palace: Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 29). Gotama bidding farewell to his groom and horse (*Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 24; Tō, *Tonkō e no michi*, pp. 97, 119).

91. Chandaka's return in literature: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 91; *Buddhacarita*, VIII; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:117c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 3:577a–78a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:633b–34a); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:475c–76a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 18 (*T.* 3:735b–37c); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:506b–7b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 4:10c–12b).

Artistic depiction of the events surrounding Gotama leaving the palace: Kuṣāṇa dynasty, Gandhāra, Fujii Yūrinkan (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 72). Giving the jewels to Channa and changing robes: Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB*, pl. II-54). The return of Kanthaka and Channa: relief, Archaeological Museum of Swat (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, p. 473); second century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 29).

92. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 64–65.

93. *Vimānavatthu,* 81, vv. 15 22, p. 74. This legend continues to have an important meaning in the Southern Buddhist tradition. In Myanmar, when a man becomes a *bhikkhu*, he is dressed in beautiful silk robes like a prince and is seated in a decorated vehicle, which is pulled through the streets. This is based on the legend of Gotama abandoning the pleasures of this world to enter the homeless state.

CHAPTER 3: SEEKING THE WAY

1. *Buddhacarita,* VIII, 86.
2. *Buddhacarita,* IX, 8.
3. The legend of the meeting with the hermit Bhārgava: Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1 (Rome: IsMEO, 1977), pp. 93–94; *Buddhacarita,* IX, 1–72; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:118b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:634b–c), fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:636b–37a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 20 (*T.* 3:745a–47b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 4:12b, 13c–14a).
4. *Pj.*, pp. 383–84. Chizen Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* (Dictionary of Indian Buddhist proper names; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), p. 481.
5. *Sn.*, 416, 417.
6. Hajime Nakamura, *Indoshi I* (History of India, vol. 1), vol. 5 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997), 409 13.
7. The city of Rājagaha was walled, like Chinese cities. In Korea, by contrast, castles were mountain strongholds, used for refuge in emergencies by both the military and the common people. A rare example of a Korean type of castle in Japan can be seen near Dazaifu, on northern Kyūshū. Most Japanese castles were for the defense of the military and were closed to commoners.
8. Hsüan-tsang called the old city "Shang-ya kung-tien" (上茅宮殿) and "Chü-she-chieh-lo-pu-lo-ch'eng" (矩奢揭羅補羅城) (Skt., Kuśāgrapura; Pāli, Kusaggapura).
9. Chizen Akanuma, *Shakuson* (Śākyamuni; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1934), pp. 271–72.
10. According to the *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan,* the new city was built by Ajātasattu. For a discussion of Rājagaha, see Chikyō Yamamoto, "Seichi Ōshajō" (Sacred Place, Rājagṛha), *Mikkyō bunka,* no. 56 (August 1961): 42–52.
11. Akanuma, *Shakuson,* p. 272.
12. In the *Tsa a-han-ching* and other texts the name of this mountain was transliterated into Chinese as *Ch'i-she-chüeh shan* (耆闍崛山). Buddhaghosa says that Vulture Peak was so named because a vulture lived on its summit or because a rock on the summit resembled a vulture (*Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 516). Stratified large rocks reminiscent of the outspread wings of a vulture constitute the summit today.
13. Hermann Jacobi, ed., *Pariśiṣṭaparvan,* pp. 42, 45–46 (according to Hermann Jacobi, trans., *Jaina Sūtras,* vol. 22 of SBE [Oxford: The University Press, 1884;

Reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, 1964], p. xiv, n. 1). The Greeks called Palimbothra (Pāṭaliputta) the greatest city in India (*megistē polis* [*Arrianos*, X, 5]; *polis megistē Indōn* [*Arrianos*, II, 9]).

14. According to the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta,* King Ajātasattu had a castle built in the town of Pāṭaligāma as a defense against the Vajji (Skt., Vṛji) tribe. Jaina and Hindu sources say that Pāṭaliputra (also called Kusumapura) was built by King Udāyin (or Udāyibhadda) as his capital (Jaina: *Pariśiṣṭaparvan,* ed. Jacobi, VI, 34, 175–80; Hindu: *Gārgī-Saṃhitā, Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* [ed. Kern], 36; *Vāyu-Purāṇa*). The Hindu sources say that he built it in the fourth year of his reign (Hemacandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History of India,* 6th ed. [Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1923], 217).

15. *Puruttama* (*Therag.*, 622).

16. *Pabbajjā-sutta* (*Sn.*, 405–24). This section also appears in É. Senart, ed., *Le Mahâvastu,* vol. 2 ([Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1882–97], p. 198); a comparative study of the passages in the two works has been made by Ernst Windisch (*Māra und Buddha* [Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1895], 245 50). Virtually the same passage also appears in the *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:779–80) and in the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:118–19). An abridged version is found in the *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:102b–c). There is a need for comparative study of these passages and a Jaina scripture (J. Charpentier, ed., *Uttarādhyayaṇa-sūtra,* 20 [Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryekeri, Aktie bolage, 1922]).

17. *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, v. 405 ff.

18. An information board at the site states: "This area enclosed by a slick stone wall with corner bastions may mark the prison in which King Bimbisāra was confined by his son Ajātaśatru. In one of the stone cells inside was found an iron manacle."

19. Recorded as *hathakaḍī bhilī hai.*

20. The sign there refers to them as the "Bhaṇḍār Caves," and states: "The two caves are possibly Jaina monuments of 3rd–4th centuries A.D. as indicated by the Sanskrit inscription on the left wall of the entrance to the western cave and by Jaina carvings in the eastern cave. A Vishṇu image of the Gupta Period [ca. 320–ca. 550] was also found in the collapsed [ ]sis of the roof of the eastern cave."

21. Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Indo no busseki to Hindū jiin* (Buddhist sites of India and Hindu temples), vol. 5 of *Sekai no bunka shiseki* (Historical sites of culture in the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968), no. 61.

22. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 9 (*T.* 51:921b–c); after Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (1884; Delhi: Orient Books Reprint Corporation, 1969), 155 56 (amended).

23. Research is necessary to compare the conversation in the "Renunciation of the World" section with the account in the *Uttarādhyayaṇa-sūtra,* 20. The Pāli for "renunciation of the world" is *pabbajjā,* literally, "going forth." The fact that

Jaina scriptures relate a similar procedure indicates that both the Buddha and Mahāvīra acted in accordance with the religious customs of the time in renouncing the world.

24. *Sn.*, 405–8. It is said that these verses were spoken by Ānanda, the Buddha's beloved disciple and attendant (*Pj.*, p. 308). Although this is a very ancient verse section, the expression "completely endowed with excellent marks" indicates that idealization and deification of the Buddha were already occurring. See also verses 1019, 1021, and 1022.

25. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Early Buddhism* (London: Constable and Co., 1910; reprint, Delhi: Bharatiya Publishing House, 1976), p. 32, n.

26. "[His] stooping and stretching, looking up and down, and walking, all were [his] schools. [He] looks before [him], proceeding straight ahead, not looking left or right" (*Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 [*T.* 22:779c]).

27. *Sn.*, 409–11. The "king's messengers" would have been spies. Their role, somewhat similar to that of the Japanese *oniwaban*, was described by Megasthenes in the section on caste in *Tā Indika.*

28. *Āy.*, I, 8, 1, 4.

29. *Manu-smṛti*, VI, 68.

30. *Sn.*, 412–13.

31. Mount Paṇḍava was one of the five mountains that surrounded Rājagaha.

32. *Sn.*, 414–16.

33. *Sn.*, 417–18.

34. The original reads: *nisajja rāja sammodi katham sārāṇiyam tato / katham so vītisāretvā imam attham abhāsatha //*. Similar expressions are often found in the Pāli scriptures, for example: *Bhagavatā saddhim sammodimsu, sammodanīyam katham sārāṇiyam vītisāretvā* (MPS, I, 29; *DN*, vol. 2, p. 88).

35. *Sn.*, 419–21.

36. Accounts of the meeting with Bimbisāra: *Sn.*, III; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 65, l. 29; *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 22; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 94–96; *Divyāv.*, pp. 392–93; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, p. 198, vol. 3, p. 441; *Buddhacarita*, X–XI; *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:783b–c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:118b–19a); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:476b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:637a–c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 23–24 (*T.* 3:758b–64c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:579c–80a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:509b–10a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:19a–22b). There are no known artistic representations of the event in India. We have only an eighth-century depiction from Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-60).

37. *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:780a–b).

38. "Those": the direction from which he has come (*Pj.*, p. 385). "Upright": the original reads *ugum janapado*, whereas the passage quoted in the commentary has *ujū janapado*. I have followed the latter reading, as does Chalmers.

39. *Sn.*, 422.

40. *Sn.*, 423.

41. "By lineage 'the Kinsmen of the Sun'" (*Chalmers Sn.*, p. 101).

42. See *Sn.*, 1098.

43. *Sn.*, 424.

44. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 65–66.

45. The following also appears in *Therag.*, 818–41.

46. In ancient India, even before the time of the Buddha, students addressed their masters as *bhagavan*. See, for example, *Chānd. Up.*, IV, 5, 1, etc.; *MBh*, XII, 242, v. 23. The term is translated into Chinese as *shih-tsun* (世尊; "world-honored one").

47. A *samaṇa*, one who practices (the Way).

48. *Sn.*, 548–54.

49. *Sn.*, 551.

50. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 66–67.

51. Accounts of the visit to Āḷāra: *Ariyapariyesana-sutta, MN*, no. 26 (vol. 1, pp. 160ff.); *Mahāsaccaka-sutta, MN*, no. 36 (vol. 1, pp. 237ff., esp. p. 240); *Bodhirājakumāra-sutta, MN*, no. 85 (vol. 2, pp. 91ff., esp. p. 93); Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 97–98; *Lalitavistara*, p. 319; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, p. 195; *Buddhacarita*, XII, 15–80; *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:776b–c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:780b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:119b); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:469b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:637c–38b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 21–22 (*T.* 3:751c–57b).

A stone relief depicting Gotama's visit to Āḷāra Kālāma exists at the Ānanda Temple at Pagan, Myanmar (*WOB*, pl. II-61). Another work of art on this theme is "Visiting a Brahmin sage": early second century, Peshawar Museum (Osamu Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen* [Origin of Buddhist images; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967], pl. 23; Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, and Ryōjun Satō, ed., *Budda no sekai* [The world of the Buddha; Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980], pl. 4-40; *Sehrai Peshawar*, nos. 26, 46).

52. *Buddhacarita*, VII, 54. Kālāma was his family name (Skt., *gotra;* Pāli, *gotta*).

53. *Udrakasyāśramaṃ yayau* (*Buddhacarita*, XII, 84).

54. *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:578c–80a).

55. *Ariyapariyesana-sutta, MN*, no. 26 (vol. 1, pp. 163ff.); *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56 (*T.* 1:776b–c). The episode also appears in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta, MN*, no. 36 (vol. 1, pp. 240ff.); *Bodhirājakumāra-sutta, MN*, no. 85 (vol. 2, pp. 91ff., esp. p. 93); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:780b).

56. This is generally translated in Chinese as *wu-so-yu-ch'u* (無所有処), but the *Ssu-fen-lü* (fasc. 31) translates it as *pu-yung-ch'u-ting* (不用処定).

57. MPS, *DN*, no. 16 (vol. 2, pp. 130ff.); *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 2–4: *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:11a–30b).

58. Accounts of the visit to Uddaka: *Ariyapariyesana-sutta, MN*, no. 26 (vol. 1, pp. 160f.); *Mahāsaccaka-sutta, MN*, no. 36 (vol. 1, pp. 237ff., esp. p. 240); *Bodhi-*

rājakumāra-sutta, MN, no. 85 (vol. 2, pp. 91 ff., esp. p. 93); *Uddako, SN*, XXXV, 103 (vol. 4, pp. 83–84); *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 28 (114): *Yu-t'o-lo-ching* (*T.* 1:603a–b), where Uddaka's philosophy is described; *Pāsādika-suttanta, DN*, no. 29, esp. vol. 3, p. 126; *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 12 (13): *Ch'ing-ching-ching* (*T.* 1:74a), where Yü-t'ou-lan-tzu (Uddaka Rāmaputta) is mentioned; *AN*, IV, 187 (vol. 2, esp. p. 180), where King Eḷeyya, together with six of his ministers, is said to have followed the Samaṇa Rāmaputta. (Buddhaghosa's commentary identifies the *samaṇa* with Uddaka Rāmaputta [see Akanuma, *Shakuson*, p. 37]); Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 98; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:29b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:580a–b). Depictions in art include "Visiting Uddaka Rāmaputta": Yūken Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru* [Borobuḍur rises; Nagoya: Ajia Bunka Kōryū Sentā, 1987], p. 104.

59. H. C. Norman, ed., *The Commentary on the Dhammapada*, vol. 1 (London: Luzac & Co., 1970), p. 85; *Buddhacarita*, XII, 83 ff.

60. *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:580b).

61. *Ariyapariyesana-sutta, MN*, no. 26 (vol. 1, pp. 165 ff.); *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56 (*T.* 1:776b–c). The visits to Āḷāra and Uddaka also appear in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta, MN*, no. 36 (vol. 1, pp. 240 ff.); *Bodhirājakumāra-sutta, MN*, no. 85 (vol. 2, pp. 91 ff., esp. p. 93).

62. *Yüan-li-k'ung-an-ching-ch'u:* 遠離空安靖処 (*Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56 (*T.* 1:776b–c).

63. "The beautiful city of the Kosalas" refers to Sāvatthī. The commentary (*Pj.*, p. 580) gives *nagara* for *pura*, the original word for "city." "The southern country" is Dakkhiṇāpatha. This refers to the modern Deccan, a corruption of the Sanskrit *dakṣiṇā*, "south." This verse (*Sn.*, 976) appears in the introductory section of the "Pārāyana-vagga" and seems to have been added later. No commentary is found in the *Culla-Nidesa*, and the verse does not appear anywhere in Chinese translation. For further discussion, see Kōgen Mizuno's note to his Japanese translation of the *Sutta-nipāta* (*Kyōshū*, in *Nanden Daizōkyō* [The Southern Tripiṭaka], vol. 24 [Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1939], pp. 386–88).

64. See, for example, *Utt.*, XXV, 28. *Ākiñcañña* ("nothingness"), according to the commentary, means to be without possessions or accoutrements (*ākiṃcan-abhāvaṃ, pariggahū-pakaraṇavivekam ti vuttaṃ hoti; Pj.*, p. 580).

65. *Bṛhad. Up.*, III, 5, 1; IV, 4, 22.

66. "Not dependent [on others]" means, according to Buddhaghosa, "not depending on [other] people, not depending on the teachings" (*anissito = puggalaṃ vā dhammaṃ vā anālīno; Pj.*, p. 593). Religion is usually believed to concern, and indeed to encourage, acceptance of and reliance on the teaching of the others; here, though, dependence on the authority of another person or on a doctrine is denied, an approach that has something in common with the spirit of iconoclasm.

67. *Sn.*, 1069–70. "Dispel doubts" (*virato kathāhi*) follows Buddhaghosa's inter-

pretation (*kathāhī ti kathaṃkathāhi; Pj.*, p. 593). If his commentary is not followed, the phrase could be translated as "abstain from all arguments."

68. See *CuN.*, pp. 128ff. Chalmers translates this as "the Plane of Naught" (p. 235, v. 976). Dānapāla, in his Chinese translation of the *Āryaprajñāpāramitā-saṃgrahakārikā* (*Fo-mu pan-jo po-lo-mi-to yüan-chi-yao-i-lun* [*T.* 25: 913b), renders *na . . . kathaṃcana* in verse 41 as *he-shuo-yu* (何所有). See Hakuju Ui, *Jinna chosaku no kenkyū* (Study on Dignāga's writings; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958), p. 309.

69. *Rattindivaṃ nibbānaṃ vibhūtaṃ katvā passa* (*Pj.*, p. 593). This could also be translated as "Make nirvana something to be destroyed."

70. *Sn.*, 1071–72. "Release from perception" (*saññāvimokkha*), according to the commentary, means the concentration of the abode of nothingness, the highest of the seven *samāpattis* (*ākiñcaññ' āyatana-samāpatti vimokkho; CuN.* [Siam ed.], p. 132). Buddhaghosa regarded this as identical to the Brahma realm (*sattasu saññāvimokkhesu uttame ākiñcaññāyatane . . . so puggalo tattha ākiñcaññāyatana-brahmaloke avigacchamāno tiṭṭhe; Pj.*, p. 594). It is also linguistically possible to translate the expression as "release where only perceptions exist." Fausböll translates it as "being delivered in the highest deliverance by knowledge." This interpretation is clearly divergent from Sarvāstivādin and general Mahāyāna doctrine. According to the teachings of these schools, the Brahma realm is part of the realm of form, and the abodes of the infinity of consciousness and of nothingness are part of the formless realm. This divergence indicates that neither Buddhaghosa nor the Sarvāstivādins transmitted the earliest Buddhist thought in its original form. It is reasonable to believe that perception does not exist in the abode of nothingness. Therefore I feel it acceptable to translate the term as "release from perception." Cf. *Chalmers Sn.*, p. 253, "Who from Perceptions wins entire Deliverance."

71. Cf. *Sn.*, 950; *Dhp.*, 367.

72. *Sn.*, 861.

73. According to a text of the Northern transmission, Uddaka Rāmaputta practiced the concentration of the abode of neither perception nor nonperception (*Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 [*T.* 3:580a]). Other texts say that he taught the concentration of perception and nonperception, which is the same as the former (*P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 5 [*T.* 3:510b]), or that Āḷāra Kālāma attained the fourth concentration, but there is virtually no difference in meaning (*Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 [*T.* 4:23b–c]).

74. *Kathaṃsametassa* (= *kathaṃpaṭipannassa; Pj.*, p. 553).

75. *Sn.*, 873, 874. According to the commentary (*MahN.*, pp. 279–80), "one who has ordinary perceptions" refers to an ordinary, ignorant person; "one who has wrong perceptions" refers to an insane person; "one who is without perceptions" refers to a person who has entered the concentration of the total extinction of the mind and its workings; and "one who has made the perceptions disappear" refers to a person who has attained the four formless concentrations. This interpretation, however, seems to be based on later doctrine. See also *Sn.*, 1037.

Diffuse consciousness" (*papañcasaṁkhyā*) is, according to the commentary (*MahN.*, p. 280), cravings (*taṇhā*), wrong views (*diṭṭhi*), and pride (*māna*). The commentary interprets verse 916 as "*avijjādayo kilesā papañcasaṃkhāya mūlaṃ*" (*Pj.*, p. 562). Chinese translations of the later period translated *papañca* as *hsi-lun* (戯論; "meaningless arguments"). In this passage the term may be interpreted according to Indian general usage. In *Sn.*, 916, however, the same term is used in a Buddhist sense.

76. *Anejo*.

77. *Vibhūta-rūpasaññissa* (= *samatikkantarūpa-saññissa; Pj.*, p. 600).

78. The original text has *viññāṇaṭṭhitiyo*, and the Chinese translation, *shih-chu* (識住). The commentary (*CuN.*, pp. 226–27) gives two hierarchical systems of phases of consciousness, *cattasso viññāṇa-ṭṭhitiyo* (establishment of consicousness in form, feeling, perception, and mental constituents) and *satta viññāṇa-ṭṭhitiyo* (establishment of consciousness in the realm of human beings and in parts of the realms of *devas* and the four adverse destinations of rebirth: the first of the Brahma heavens in the first *jhāna* realm, the third heaven in the second *jhāna* realm, the third heaven in the third *jhāna* realm, the heaven of the infinity of space, the heaven of the infinity of consciousness, and the heaven of nothingness).

79. *Ākiñcaññasambhavaṃ ñatvā ti ākiñcaññāyatana-janakaṃ kammābhisaṃkhāraṃ ñatvā* (*Pj.*, p. 601).

80. *Sn.*, 1112–15.

81. *Vedana:* "sensation" (*Fausböll Sn.*, p. 207); "feeling" (*Chalmers Sn.*, p. 263); "Empfindung wenn Man nicht mehr schmeckt" (*Neumann Sn.*, p. 389).

82. *Viññāṇaṃ uparujjhati:* "To dissipate the heritage of mind" (*Chalmers Sn.*, p. 263); "consciousness ceases" (*Fausböll Sn.*, p. 207).

83. *Sn.*, 1110–11.

84. Cf. *Sn.*, 1037.

85. *Sn.*, 734–35.

86. *Sn.*, 1119. The same passage appears in the *Dhammapada*, 170. The king of death is *maccurāja*, a demon. From the root *mṛ* ("die") come such words as *mṛtyu*, *maccu* ("death") and *māra* ("demon," that is, "one who kills"). "The king of death cannot see" means to be unvanquished by the king of death.

87. This point is dealt with in more detail in the discussion of early Buddhist thought. (See my *Genshi Bukkyō no shisō II* [The philosophy of early Buddhism, vol. 2], vol. 16 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* [Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Shunjūsha, 1994.)

88. *Buddhacarita*, XII, 15f.

89. The Chinese translated this as *yung-pen* (癰本; "the root of abscess").

90. The Chinese translation has *yü-ai* (愛欲; "the craving of the realm of desire"), *she-ai* (色欲; "the craving of the realm of form"), and *wu-she-ai* (無色欲; "the craving of the formless realm").

91. *SN*, XXXV, 103 (vol. 4, pp. 83–84).

92. *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 28 (114): *Yu-t'o-lo-ching* (*T.* 1:603a–b).

93. *Khuram eva sandhāya.* The Chinese translation says: "His son, citing the words of ordinary ignorant people, uses a metaphor."

94. *DN*, no. 29, *Pāsādika-suttanta* (vol. 3, pp. 126–27); *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 12: *Ch'ing-ching-ching* (*T.* 1:74a).

95. Akanuma, *Shakuson*, pp. 42–43.

96. Hajime Nakamura, "A Process of the Origination of Buddhist Meditations in Connection with the Life of the Buddha," in *Studies in Pali and Buddhism: A Homage Volume to the Memory of Bhikkhu Jagadish Kashyap*, ed. A. K. Narain (Delhi: B. R. Publishing House, 1979), pp. 269–77. Yoshinori Takeuchi stresses that the process of the search for Truth should be studied from the viewpoint of comparative religion in "Gudō jidai no Budda" (The Buddha when seeking the Way), *Tetsugaku kenkyū* 34, no. 2 (1950): 1–17; *Tetsugaku kenkyū* 37, no. 410 (1955): 1–17.

97. *Gaṇḍa*, but *grantha* in the commentary.

98. *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, XXIII.

99. *AN*, IV, 187 (vol. 2, p. 180).

100. Akanuma, *Shakuson*, p. 37.

101. Legends concerning the five Sakyas: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 67, l. 4; *Buddhacarita*, XII, 87–90; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 99; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:119c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:637a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:580b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 25 (*T.* 3:768b–c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:24b).

102. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 56, 57, ll. 1–2.

103. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 56, l. 19 through p. 57, l. 2. Cf. p. 56, l. 6f.

104. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 57, l. 3.

105. *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:580a–b).

106. Descriptions of the six years of ascetic practices: *MN*, vol. 2, pp. 80, 245; *AN*, vol. 2, p. 16; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 67, l. 9; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 100–101; *Buddhacarita*, XII, 88–97; *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:780c–81a); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:120a–c); *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 20 (*T.* 24:299a), "for six years he undertook ascetic practices and then gained enlightenment"; *Hsing-ch'i-hsing-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:164b), "the ascetic practices lasted six years"; *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:638b–39a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:511a); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:469c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:580a–82b), "When the Bodhisatta practiced austerities for six years"; *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 24 (*T.* 3:764c–72a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:24b). The six years of ascetic practices are also mentioned in texts that refer to Gotama's age at the time of his enlightenment.

107. A complete figure of Gotama the ascetic is in the Lahore Museum: latter half of second century, from Sikri (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen*, pl. 34; Chikyō Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū* [The roots of Buddhist art; Tokyo: Tōkyō

Bijutsu, 1981], pl. 76; *WOB*, pl. II-63; Osamu Takata and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* [Art of India], vol. 2 [Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 315). A partial statue is in the Peshawar Museum: second–third century, from Gandhāra (*WOB*, pl. II-12; *Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 25). Another statue is in the West Berlin State Museum: fifth–sixth century, from Gandhāra (*West Berlin*, pl. 4). The Lahore Museum statue has deep-sunk eyes, a sunken chest, sharply defined shoulder blades and ribs over which the veins can be seen, and a deeply concave belly. The dreadful realism of the portrayal indicates the influence of Hellenistic sculpture (Jirō Sugiyama, *Indo no bijutsu* [Indian art], vol. 4 of *Gurando sekai bijutsu* [Great art of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976], no. 32). A fifteenth-century statue of Sakyamuni the ascetic in the Great Treasure House of Hōryū-ji, Nara Prefecture, evokes no such feeling of dread, though the ribs protrude; Sakyamuni sits calmly, his right leg pulled up, and looks straight ahead, emitting a feeling of warmth (*Shōtoku*, no. 74 [October 25, 1977], frontispiece; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 106).

108. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 67.

109. *Uru* means "wide," but the plural form, *urū*, means "sands" or "soil." *Velā* means "shore." *Uruvelā ti mahāvelā, mahāvālikarāsi' ti attho. Atha vā urū ti vālikā vuccati, velāti maryādā. velātikkamanahetu āhatā uru Uruvelā ti evam ettha attho daṭṭhabbo* (Hermann Kopp, ed., *Manorathapūraṇī*, vol. 3 [London: Luzac & Co., 1966], p. 23). Akanuma discusses the origin of the name in *Shakuson*, p. 160. Another possible derivation of *velā* is *vilva*, "bel tree" (*Aegle marmelos*). The *Lalitavistara* interprets Uruvelā as "place rich in bel trees." Even today the area is noted for its profusion of bel trees. The *Lalitavistara* transcribes Uruvelā as Uruvilva, and the *Mahāvaṃsa* as Uruvelaya. A variant of the name remains in the modern village of Urel. Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, rev. ed. (Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975), 457; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi or the Great Temple* (London: W. H. Allen, 1892), quoted in Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* [Berlin: W. Hertz, 1881], p. 125, n. 2).

110. The translation "Elephant's Head Peak" was probably based on the fact that Magadhī, like other Prākrits, changed the Sanskrit *y* into *j* (Heinrich Lüders, Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urcanons [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954], section 148, p. 115). In Sanskrit *gaja* means "elephant"; thus the translation may have intended to make the Magadhī name fit the Sanskrit. According to later commentaries, the mountain was so named because its shape resembled an "elephant's head" (*gajāśīrṣa*).

111. Rhys Davids and Stede cite mentions of *tapovana* in the *Visuddhimagga*, 58, 79, 342 (*Pali-English Dictionary* [London: Pali Text Society, 1921–25], p. 297). R. C. Childers, in *A Dictionary of the Pali Language* ([London: Trübner and Co., 1875], p. 497), cites mentions in the *Attanagaluvaṃsa*, 213, and the *Dhp.*, 411 (ed. Fausböll).

112. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 67.

113. Quotes in this section from the *Nidānakathā* are from *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 67–70.

114. The legend of the departure of the five companions: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 108; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:121c).

115. In the *Ṛg Veda*, *sujāta* means "one of noble birth" or "one of good birth." According to the *Ṛg Veda* (I, 72, 3) those who would study the *Vedas* are those who have been purified (*sujāta*) by offering curds (*ghṛta*) to the fire deity. H. Grassmann interprets this as "wohl (edel) geboren, von edler Abkunft, von Menschen" (*Wörterbuch zum Rigveda* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1976], col. 1531). K. F. Geldner translates *sujātāḥ* as "die Edlgeborenen" (*Der Rigveda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen*, vols. 33–36 of *Harvard Oriental Series* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951–57], vol. 1, p. 95).

Legends concerning the offering of the village woman: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 68, l. 5; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 107–8; *Lalitavistara*, p. 331; *Buddhacarita*, XII, 106–10; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:103b–c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:786a–b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:121c–22b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 25 (*T.* 3:770b–71a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:583b–c); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:512a–b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:24a).

Representations in art: "Sujātā's offering," eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-64; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 484; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, pp. 107–8). "Buddha and lay offerers," end of second century, Archaeological Museum at Taxila (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen*, pl. 36).

116. *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 25 (*T.* 3:770b–71c).

117. *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:583a–b).

118. *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 3:804b).

119. Yūshō Miyasaka, review of Hajime Nakamura, *Gōtama Budda*, in *Kōyasan Daigaku gakuhō* 2 (July 1959): 3. According to the myth cited by Miyasaka, Prajāpati had created the world, but everything had died. On reflection he realized that this had been for lack of food, so he squeezed milk from an udder. As a result his creation was able to survive (*Śat. Br.*, II, 5, 1, 1). Cf. Paul Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte de Philosophie* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1894), I, 1, p. 187f.

120. Legends concerning bathing in the Nerañjarā River: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 70, l. 3; *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:781a–b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:639a–b); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:479a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:583c–84a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:512a–c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:24c).

Representations in art: first century B.C.E., from Amarāvatī, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (*WOB*, pl. II-65); Borobuḍur (*ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 485; *WOB*, pl. II-66).

121. Ni-lien-ch'an (尼連禅). Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 386. A reliable map of this area is included in the Japanese translation of the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* by Shinjō Mizutani (*Daitō saiiki ki*, vol. 22 of *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* [Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971], p. 261).

122. The legend of the praise of the *nāga* king: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 70, l. 13; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 111–13; *Divyāv.,* p. 392; *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, p. 400; *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:24c–25a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:586b–87a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:639b–c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:479a–80a); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:470a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 25 (*T.* 3:772a–c); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:514b–c).

Representation in art: "Praise of the Buddha by the nāga Kālika" (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 27).

123. *MN,* no. 12, *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 77–83). Quotation from pp. 81–82.

124. *MN,* no. 36, *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 274).

125. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 51:915a–b). See also Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, pp. 114–15. Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten,* p. 511, cites only the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* for the source of Mount Prāgbodhi. Akanuma gives the mountain's name in Pāli as "Pabodhi," but this does not appear in Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (London: Luzac & Co., 1960).

126. Mount Prāgbodhi is now called Mora Pahar (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography,* p. 386).

127. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 51:915a–b). See also Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, p. 113.

128. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 56. Cf. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 67, l. 2f.

129. Quotations in this section are from *Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 70–74.

130. The legend of the grass cutter: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 70, l. 29; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, p. 113; *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, p. 264; *Buddhacarita,* XII, 116; *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:102c); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:786b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:122c); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:470a–b); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:514c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:639c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:587b–c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:25a).

Representations in art: "The offering of the grass cutter," late first century C.E., Gandhāra (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu,* vol. 2, pl. 312); Kuṣāṇa dynasty, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū,* pl. 67); beginning of second century, Peshawar Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 22); early second century, from Sikri Stupa, Lahore Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 24). "The merchants Tapussa and Bhallika offer food," third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. 3; *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 34). "The four heavenly guardian kings offer four bowls," second–fourth century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (*WOB,* pl. 4; *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 33), early second century, from Sikri Stupa, Lahore Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 25). "Youth offers mud," Peshawar Museum (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 52; *Nagarj.,* p. 150, pl. XXI); "Offering of the grass cutter," second century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Takashi Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* [Sakyamuni in the fine arts; Tokyo:

Heibonsha, 1979], pl. 36). "Offering of the grass cutter," second-third century, from Sikri, Lahore Museum (Banri Namikawa, *Namikawa Banri Shashinshū—Gandāra* [Banri Namikawa's photo collection: Gandhāra; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984], pl. 45). "The woodcutter Svastika offers grass," from Peshawar, Peshawar Museum (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 28). "Offering of the grass cutter," mid-eighth to mid-ninth century (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 111).

131. The legend of the vow beneath the *bodhi* tree: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 71, l. 1; *Lalitavistara,* p. 362; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, p. 113; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:122c–23a).

Representations in art: "Gotama approaching the *bodhi* tree," second–fourth century, from Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. II-68); from Peshawar, Peshawar Museum (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 29); second–third century, Kabul Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pls. 46, 47). "Gotama seated on the diamond throne," tenth century, from Bihar, British Museum (*WOB,* pl. II-69); mid-eighth to mid-ninth century, Borobuḍur (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 113).

132. The *assattha* and the *pipphala* are the same tree (*Kogetsu zenshū* [complete collection of works of Kaigyoku Watanabe], vol. 1 [Tokyo: Kogetsu Zenshū Kankōkai, 1933], p. 410ff.). See also Akira Yuyama, "The *Bodhi* Tree in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna,*" in *Pratidānam: Indian, Iranian, and Indo-European Studies Presented to Franciscus Bernardus Jacobus Kuiper on His Sixtieth Birthday* (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1968), pp. 488–92. For the *assattha* tree, see M. B. Emeneau, "The Strangling Figs in Sanskrit Literature," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 13, no. 10 (1949): 345f. Cf. *Kath. Up.*

133. The temptations of Māra: *Sn.,* 424–48; *SN,* vol. 1, p. 124; *AN,* vol. 1, p. 3; *CPS,* pp. 92–117; *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 71, l. 27; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 113–16; *Lalitavistara,* p. 490; *Mahāvastu,* vol. 1, p. 16, vol. 2, p. 314; *Buddhacarita,* XIII, 3, XV, 13; *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 39 (*T.* 2:760b–61b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:123b–24b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:639c–41a); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:470c–71a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 28 (*T.* 3:782a–86c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 9 (*T.* 3:590b–95a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:516c–21c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:25a–26c). See also P. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama* (Rangoon: American Mission Press, 1866), p. 77.

Representations in art: "Quelling Māra and attaining enlightenment," first century B.C.E., Stupa 1, Sāñcī (Taijun Inokuchi, Seizan Yanagida, and Chikusa Masaaki, ed., *Zusetsu Nihon Bukkyō no genzō* [Original images of Japanese Buddhism in illustrations; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982], frontispiece 1); first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (*WOB,* pl. II-70). "Stone fragments representing Māravijaya," Archaeological Museum at Mathurā (N. P. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures* [Mathurā: Archaeological Museum, 1969], pl. 86). "Temptations," Peshawar Museum (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 30). "Māra's attack," Peshawar Museum (*Sehrai Peshawar,* nos. 31, 32); ca. second century, Lahore Museum (Catalogue for the Exhibition of Gandhara Art

of Pakistan, 1984, pl. II-10); third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu*, vol. 1, pl. 175; *WOB*, pl. II-71; *Nagarj.*, p. 64, pl. IX; *Archaeological Remains*, pl. 87); second–third century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1971], pl. 85); third–fourth century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (*WOB*, pl. II-72); Kuṣāṇa dynasty, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pls. 68, 69); second–third century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra*, pls. 48, 49); ca. third–fourth century, from Swāt region, Swat Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra*, pl. 50); seventh century, Ajantā, Cave 1 (*WOB*, pls. II, III, 68, 73; Tetsujirō Inoue and Kentoku Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden* [Biography of Śākyamuni, enlarged edition; Tokyo: Maekawa Bun'eikaku, 1911], fig. 1); Pāla dynasty, tenth–eleventh century, Sārnāth (Kōichi Machida, ed., *Nyūderī bijutsukan* [National Museum, New Delhi], vol. 9 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], no. 87); eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-74; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 486a). See also the map of the site of archaeological remains at Bodhgaya in Shōkō Watanabe, *Shin Shakuson den* (A new biography of the Buddha; Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1966), 485.

134. The *Lalitavistara* and the *Divyāvadāna* give the *nāga* king the name Kālika. Cf. Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 181. Representations in art: "The prophecy of the *nāga* king," second century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 35); from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 27).

135. Bodhgayā: See Benimadhab Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, 2 vols., Indian History Series no. 1, and Fine Arts Series no. 4 (Calcutta: Indian Research Institute, 1934; reviewed by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *JAOS* 57 [1937]: 191–93); Tarapada Bhattacharya, *The Buddhagaya Temple* (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1966).

Diamond throne: See Kentoku Sasaki, "Butsuza kō" (Notes about the Buddha seat), *Kikan shūkyō kenkyū* 2, no. 1 (1940): 149–77.

136. This section is included in an earlier Sanskrit work, the *Lalitavistara*, Adhy. XVIII (Raj. Mitra, ed., *Lalita Vistara, or, Memoirs of the Early Life of Śākya Siṅha*, Bibliotheca Indica 15 [Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1853–77], p. 327). A detailed comparison of the two sections appears in Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, 1–32). Quotations in the first part of this section are from *Sn.*, 425–49.

137. "Nerañjarā": *Maṃ.* As Windisch points out, the meter indicates that this is a later interpolation. *Karuṇa* (compassionate) has connotations of pity rather than sadness. *Karuṇan ti anuddayāyuttaṃ* (*Pj.*, p. 386) has been translated as "words full of compassion" (*Fausböll Sn.*, p. 69), "words of ruth" (*Chalmers Sn.*, p. 101), and "mit mildem Worte" (*Neumann Sn.*, p. 147).

138. The Sanskrit also uses *te* ("of thee") when the demon speaks to Sakyamuni (*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, 16, 9, p. 210).

139. "A thousand to one": Windisch asserts in reference to the *Lalitavistara*

that the original text says *sahassabhāge maraṇaṃ, ekaṃse tava jīvitaṃ,* which should be translated "In a thousand parts you have death, in one part you have life." *Jīvaṃ puññāni kāhasi* ("you are able to perform meritorious deeds") can also be translated "you can accumulate various merits." For the religious practitioner, performing meritorious deeds is the same as accumulating merit.

140. The original has *yenatthena,* which is *svenārthena* in the *Lalitavistara.* Windisch asserts that it should be read as *senatthena,* since in the Sinhalese script *s* and *y* resemble each other. If this reading is followed, the translation should be, "You have come here seeking your own profit."

141. *Saddhā* ("faith") is the faith not of fanaticism but of reason.

142. Here "life" is mentioned in relation to the reference in verse 427.

143. "The embodied, through the practice of abstinence, can deaden all the senses except taste. When eventually, though, he sees the Supreme One, even taste fades away" (*Bhag. G.*, II, 59).

144. "Supreme suffering" refers to Gotama's ascetic practices. *Vedanā* means "sensation, impressions," but because here it means specifically "suffering," it is sometimes translated into Chinese as *t'ung* (痛). "No longer attracted by the various sensuous desires": *kāmesu nāpekkhate.* This phrase means something like "having no consideration for the various sensuous desires" or "putting no reliance upon the various sensuous desires." "Look at [my] purity of mind and body": The original Pāli text has *passa sattassa suddhataṃ* (*paśya sattvasya śuddhatām* in the *Lalitavistara*). The commentary has *attan* for *satta.* This shows the influence of the *Upaniṣads:* "When food is pure, the essence [body and mind] is pure [*sattvaśuddhi*]. When the essence is pure, mindfulness [*smṛti*] is firm. When [firm] mindfulness is attained, [one] is freed from all shackles" (*Chānd. Up.*, VII, 26, 2). Here too (*Sn.*, 434), "mindfulness is established" (*sati . . . tiṭṭhati*) through ascetic practice (including fasting). Similar statements are made in other *Upaniṣads* (*jñāna-prasādena viśuddha-sattvas; Muṇḍ. Up.*, III, 2, 8). Cf. *sattasaṃjuta* (*Isibhāsiyāiṃ,* 11). A similar expression is *bhāva-śuddhi,* which appears to mean "purification of the feelings [sentiments]" (*MBh.*, XII, 161, 5) and corresponds to *sattvaśuddhi.* The expression "purity of mind and body" (*sattassa suddhatā*) is common in Brahmanism, too. In this case *sattva* is probably a neuter noun, whose connotations are different from the Pāli *satta* (Skt., *sattva*), a masculine noun meaning "sentient being" in Buddhist scriptures. The idea that a man who has committed a serious crime will be purified of evil if he concentrates his mind and takes up the alms bowl (*bhaikṣāhāra*) appears in the *Manu-smṛti* (XI, 257).

145. The original has *arati* for "dislike," but here the text follows the interpretation of the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary.* The commentary says *adhikusalesu dhammesu arati = abhirati.* A similar word, *arāti,* which appears in the *Ṛg Veda,* is translated as "hostility" (T. Burrow, "On the Phonological History of Sanskrit kṣám-'earth,' ṛ́kṣa-'bear,' and likṣā́-'nit,'" *JAOS* 79 [1959]: 85–90). "Craving": The original meaning of *taṇhā* (craving) was "thirst." Since here the

third army is called "hunger and thirst" (*khuppipāsā*), *taṇhā* and *pipāsā* (thirst) are separate concepts. *Taṇhā* is an impulse deeply rooted in the human subconscious, while *pipāsā* denotes a biological phenomenon.

146. Pretence (*makkha*) leads to hypocrisy. *Thambha* ("obstinacy") can also be translated as "stubbornness."

147. "Praising the self and disparaging others" (*attānaṃ samukkaṃse pare ca avajānāti*) is mentioned here as a vice; later Buddhism adopted the precept of neither praising the self nor disparaging others.

148. The Black Demon is the demon Namuci (*kaṇhadhamma-samannāgatattā Kaṇhassa Namucino*"; *Pj.*, p. 390).

149. This sentence is very difficult to interpret. Neumann (*Neumann Sn.*, p. 469) follows the Burmese text in endorsing the reading *muñcam.* He does not, however, explain why all the other manuscripts give *muñjam.* (Windisch suggests reading *muñcaṃ* [= Skt., *mṛtyuṃ*] for *muñjaṃ*, but this is difficult to accept because there is no such noun as *muñca*). The original text has *muñjaṃ parihare,* which the commentary explains as "warriors going into battle will never retreat and, to show that they will never retreat, attach *muñja* grass to their heads, their banners, or their weapons." In the commentary the words in response to *labhate sukham* in the previous verse are as follows: *yasmā ca labhate sukhaṃ, tasmā taṃ sukhaṃ patthayamāno aham pi esa muñjaṃ parihareyyaṃ, saṅgāmāvacarā anivattino purisā attano anivattanakabhāvaṃ ñāpanatthaṃ sīse vā dhaje vā āvudhe vā muñjatiṇaṃ bandhanti* (*Pj.*, p. 390). One interpretation holds that in ancient India holding *muñja* grass in the mouth indicated intent to surrender (M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur,* vol. 3, p. 531). See also Neumann's note. In all events, the expression clearly means "not to surrender."

Oldenberg sees this as a Vedic expression (*ZDMG* 62 [1908]: pp. 593–94; Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften,* ed. Klus Ludwig Janert, vol. 2 [Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1967], pp. 971–72). In Vedic literature the expression *muñjaṃ pariharati* is a compound meaning "to wrap a girdle of *muñja* grass around oneself." *Pariharati* does not mean "to remove" or "to evade" but "to wrap [a girdle] around." According to the examples Oldenberg gives (Sri Mūkūnda Jhā Bakshi, ed., *Gobhilagṛhyasūtra,* Kashi SS, no. 118 [Benares: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1936], II, 10, 37: *triḥ pradakṣiṇaṃ muñjamekhalāṃ pariharan; Kātyāyana ŚrS.*, II, 7, 1: *muñja-yoktreṇa trvṛtā pariharati; Śat. Br.*, III, 2, 1, 10: *atha mekhalāṃ pariharate*), it was thought that girdling oneself with *muñja* grass would give one magical power. Oldenberg therefore interprets the statement as "To win the battle, the demons should girdle themselves with *muñja* grass" (*Möge er [Māra] immer seinen Muñjagürtel umnehmen, der im bevorstehenden Kampf ihm Sieg bringen soll*). Oldenberg's interpetation probably approaches the original meaning. Since Buddhists generally did not see the connection with the *Vedas,* I have translated the expression here according to the customary interpretation of Southern Buddhists.

Muñja grass is described as a grass of the *Gramineae* genus, like the miscanthus

reed (Kōgen Mizuno, *Pārigo jiten* [A dictionary of the Pāli language; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1968], p. 225). In his *Pawa shōjiten* (Concise Pāli dictionary; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1955–60, p. 252), Shōzen Kumoi merely gives the Vedic *muñja* without translating it. The Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary* (p. 536) says: "[Vedic muñja, cp. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* 72] 1. a sort of grass (reed) Saccharum munja Roxb. *Sn.* 440." According to Takamaro Maku, this is "a wild grass of the same genus as sugar cane that grows on the plains all over India. It spread to China, and it grows to a height of seven meters. Its young grains are edible, and its stalks are used to make the sacred cord that is the symbol of Brahmins, baskets, and quality paper. . . . In ancient India, holding *muñja* grass in the mouth is said to express the intent to surrender or, conversely, to express the strong determination never to retreat" (*Butten no shokubutsu* [Plants in the Buddhist scriptures; Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1977], p. 191). Descriptions in the *Vinayas* indicate that *muñja* grass was used to make clothes and mats.

150. Here *dhir* takes the accusative (*Dhp.*, 389; *Therag.*, 1134; Oskar von Hinüber, *Studien zur Kasussyntax des Pāli, besonders des Vinaya-piṭaka* [Munich: L. Kitzinger, 1968], p. 78).

151. "They cannot be seen": *pagāḷhā ettha na dissanti.* The word *na* is not found in the equivalent Sanskrit passage, and it should be deleted for considerations of rhythm, as well.

152. The original text has *paññāya gacchāmi* for "overcome . . . with the strength of wisdom," but consideration of other versions and the context allows the interpretation *gacchāmi* = *bhecchāmi.* The equivalent Sanskrit text has *bhetsyāmi.* "Stone": The original text has *aṃhanā.* Consideration of the equivalent Sanskrit text suggests that perhaps it should be revised to *ambunā,* but *amha* (Skt., *aśma*) means "stone" (V. Trenckner, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary,* vol. 1 [Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 124–48], p. 405).

153. "Not . . . able to find": *nādhigacchissaṃ* (= *nādhigamiṃ; Pj.*, p. 393). If the reading *adhigacchissa* is adopted, however, the translation becomes "he would have attained" (Manfred Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Pāli,* part 1, *Grammatik* [Heidelberg: Carlwinter, 1951], pp. 95ff.). "Unguarded moment": *otāra.* m. chance; fault (Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Pāli,* pp. 95 ff.) = *randhaṃ vivaraṃ* (*Pj.*, p. 393).

154. Here *yakkha* means "demon." As a neuter noun, *yakṣa* appears in the *Ṛg Veda* and other Vedic literature, where it refers to "a living supernatural being, spiritual apparition, ghost, [or] spirit" (*MW*); "*ein lebendes oder übernatürliche Wesen; eine unkörperliche, geisterhafte Erscheinung, Ding, Spukgestalt. Sg. coll. die Wesen usw.*" As a masculine noun it denotes a demigod in the retinue of the god Kubera (already seen in the *Upaniṣads* and the *Mahābhārata*). Some ancient Buddhist writings refer to Māra as a *yakkha* (*SN,* I, 4, 3, 13, v. 22 [vol. 1, p. 122, l. 24]). *Yakṣa* was transliterated into Chinese as *yeh-ch'a* (夜叉), *yao-ch'a* (藥叉), and *yüeh-ch'a* (閱叉). It should not be confused with *yao-shih* (藥師), the translation of *Bhaiṣajya-guru-vaiḍūrya-prabha,*

the Medicine-Master Buddha. The feminine forms *yakṣī* and *yakṣiṇī* are seen in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana*, and later literature.

155. *MBh.*, IX, 42, 29–31.

156. *Sn.*, 429–30. Māra also appears in *SN*, I, 4, 1, 1 f. (vol. 1, pp. 103 ff.). The meaning of the term is given as "killing those who would go beyond the realm of self" (*attano visayaṃ atikkamituṃ paṭipanne satte maratī ti Māro; Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 169). According to Buddhaghosa, Māra has many names, but here only Māra and Pāpimant appear (*aññāni pi' ssa Kaṇho, Adhipati, Vasavatti, Antako, Namuci, Pamattabandhū ti ādīni bahūni nāmāni. Idha pana nāma-dvayam [= Māro Pāpimā] eva gahitam* [*Spk.*, p. 169]). Both from this commentary and from the original text it is apparent that Māra is singular and refers to a specific being. Legends of the Buddha's life referring to the temptations of many Māras developed later; they do not appear in the earliest texts. For Māra, see B. C. Law, ed., *Buddhist Studies* (Calcutta: Thacker & Spink, 1931), pp. 257 ff.; Alex Wayman, "Studies in Yama and Māra," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 3, no. 1 (1959): 44–73; *Indo-Iranian Journal* 3, no. 2 (1959): 112–31; Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 2, pp. 102–3, 353–58.

157. For an early mention of Pāpimant, see *SN*, I, 4, 1, 1 f. (vol. 1, pp. 103 ff.). This has been translated as "the evil one" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 128) and "der Böse" (*Geiger SN*, p. 161). The word was generally transliterated in Chinese translations as *Po-hsün* (波旬), but Ryūshō Hikata's research has shown that this was a mistaken transliteration of *Po-mien* (波面) ("Bon Kan zasso [1]" [Notes on Sanskrit and Chinese terms], *Chisan gakuhō* 12–13 [November 1964]: 12–14). The term means "causing others to cling to evil, or clinging to evil oneself" (*Pāpe niyojeti, sayaṃ vā pāpe niyutto ti Pāpimā; Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 169). Pāli always uses the form *Pāpimant*, but the Sanskrit Buddhist literature has *Pāpīmant*. Perhaps this comes from lengthening the *i* to *ī* through association with the nominative form *Pāpīyān* of the comparative *pāpīyas* ("worse") from *pāpa* (Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 341). *Pāpīyas* (nom. *pāpīyān*) appears in Sanskrit Buddhist literature with the meaning of *māra*, however, and this has been transliterated into Chinese as *Po-hsün* (波旬) (Unrai Ogihara, ed., *Bonwa daijiten* [A Sanskrit-Japanese dictionary; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1986], p. 777). There is no such example in Pāli literature. The connection between Māra and Pāpimant is not yet clear.

158. *Pāpmā vai Namuciḥ* (*RV*, VIII, 14, 13).

159. *Śat. Br.*, XII, 7, 3, 4.

160. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 62, n.

161. *Yü-ch'ieh shih-ti-lun*, fasc. 29 (*T.* 30:447c et seq.) gives four forms in detail: *yün-mo* (蘊魔; *skandhamāra*), *fan-nao-mo* (煩悩魔; *kleśamāra*), *ssu-mo* (死魔; *maraṇamāra*), and *t'ien-mo* (天魔; *devaputramāra*) (discussed in detail in Wayman, "Studies in Yama and Māra." The four Māras also appear in the fifth fascicle of *Ta-chih-tu-lun*, though here *devaputramāra* (*t'ien-mo* [天魔]) is given as *t'a-chia-tzu-tsai t'ien-tzu-mo* (他家自在天子魔). Māra is called by various names in early Buddhist literature; all

denote human emotions and desires (for details, see Akanuma, *Shakuson*, pp. 191 ff.). In later Buddhist texts these are called "the armies" of Māra.

162. "Road of striving": *maggo padhānāya* (*Sn.*, 429).

163. *Chānd. Up.*, VII, 26, 2. Cf. *jñānaprasādena viśuddha-sattvas* (*Muṇḍ. Up.*, III, 2, 8).

164. A similar expression occurs in Jaina literature: *sattasaṃjuta* (*Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, 11).

165. *Bhiyyo sati ca paññā ca samādhi mama tiṭṭhati* (*Sn.*, 434). *sthitaprajñasya kā bhāṣā samādhisthasya keśava / sthitadhīḥ kiṃ prabhāṣeta kim āsīta vrajeta kim* // (*Bhag. G.*, II, 54, 55); *sthitaprajña sthitadhī* (*Bhag. G.*, II, 56).

166. *MN*, no. 84, *Madhura-sutta* (vol. 2, p. 85).

167. "The false Brahmins of Magadha": *Māgadhadeśīya brahmabandhu* (*Kātyāyana ŚrS.*, XXII, 4, 22; VIII, 6, 28; A. F. Weber, *Indische Studien*, vol. 10 [Berlin: F. Dummler, 1850–63; Leipzig: F. A. Brockhous, 1865–98], 99). Cf. Richard Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit* (Kiel: C. F. Haeseler, 1897), p. 140, n. 1. Weber interprets the phrase as a reference to the rise of Buddhism.

168. *Sn.*, 683.

169. "Was falling": *phusāyati*, the denominative of *phusa* (= Skt. *pṛṣa* ← √*pṛṣ*). "Uninterruptedly": *ekamekaṃ*, "continuously" (*PW*); "ununterbrochen" (*Geiger SN*, p. 162).

170. "A lump of dark rock": *ariṭṭhako maṇi* (= *kāḷako pāsāno; Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 170).

171. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 2, 1–5 (vol. 1, pp. 103–4). *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (1092) (*T.* 2:287c). Here the demon is mentioned, but not the elephant. This indicates that the prose section was a later addition. In the Pāli text the section is titled "Nāgo" ("The Wonder-Elephant," *Rhys Davids SN*, p. 130; "der Elefant," *Geiger SN*, p. 163). Since it is raining uninterruptedly when Māra appears, perhaps a dragon form was envisaged.

172. "Ugly": *asubha*. "Ugly" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 130); "hässlich" (*Geiger SN*, p. 163).

173. "Well controlled": *susaṃvuta*. "Well controlled" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 130); "gut beherrscht" (*Geiger SN*, p. 163). "Followers": *paccagu*. There are various readings, depending on the manuscript, such as *sace*, *saccagu*, and *baddhagu*. Woodward (*Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 171) reads it as *paddhagu*. The commentary interprets it as *paddhacarā*, with a different edition giving *bandhacarā*; D. *bandhavarā*. Cf. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 144; *Pj.*, p. 597 (= *paddhacarā*, *paricārakā*, *sissā*); Pali Text Society, *Pali-English Dictionary*. Based on these interpretations, I have translated the word as "followers." Rhys Davids has "pupils" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 130).

174. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 3, 1–6 (vol. 1, p. 104). *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (1092) (*T.* 2:287c).

175. "Desire for existence": *bhava-lobha-jappa* (= *bhava-lobha-saṅkhātā taṇhā; Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 185).

176. "State of deathlessness": *amaccudheyyan ti, Maccuno anokāsabhūtaṃ nibbānam* (*Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 186). In the *Tsa a-han-ching* "state of deathlessness" is translated as *nieh-p'an* (涅槃; *nibbāna*).

177. *SN*, I, 4, 3, 4, 1–8 (vol. 1, pp. 122–23). *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 9 (246) (*T.* 2:59a).

178. Since there is no Chinese translation of this paragraph, it must represent a later addition to the text.

179. This verse is virtually the same as that in *Sn.*, 447–48, but *nibbijjāpema Gotamā* in the last line is *Gotamaṃ* in *Sn.*

180. See n. 178. *SN*, I, 4, 3, 4, 9–11 (vol. 1, pp. 123–24).

181. *SN*, I, 4, 3, 5 (vol. 1, pp. 124–27). The Chinese translation of the title is *mo-nü* (魔女; "demon women" [*T.* 2:287a]).

182. "So then": *atha kho*. In the Pāli scriptures the fourth and fifth sections are separated, but in the *Tsa a-han-ching* they form a single sutra. "Craving": *Taṇhā*. The Chinese translation is *ai-yü* (愛欲; passion, lust [*T.* 2:286c]). "Craving" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 156); "Durst" (*Geiger SN*, p. 193). It is interesting that the term is also translated into Chinese as *ai-yü t'ien-nü* (愛欲天女; "heavenly maiden of lust" [*T.* 2:287a]). The heavenly maidens obviously included demons. "Discomfort": *Arati*. "Discontent" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 156); "Unlust" (*Geiger SN*, p. 193). Since the Chinese has *ai-nien* (愛念; "recollection of love" [*T.* 2:286c]), the original term may have been *Ārati*. "Pleasure": *Ragā*. "Passion" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 156); "Leidenschaft" (*Geiger SN*, p. 193). The Chinese translation is *ai-lo* (愛楽; "love and pleasure" [*T.* 2:286c]).

183. "Grieved": *dummano*. "Depressed" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 156); "traurig" (*Geiger SN*, p. 193). The Chinese translation gives *ch'ou-ch'i* (愁慼; "grieved" [*T.* 2:286c]).

184. Since the Chinese reads *shih-fu-he-tsu-yu* (士夫何足憂 [*T.* 2:286c]), the original text may have been *puriso kaṃ nu socasi* ("You are a man; what are you worrying about?").

185. "It will not be easy to entrap . . . by lust": *Arahaṃ sugato loke / na rāgena suvānayo //* The manuscript consulted by Oldenberg gives *na rāgena sudhārayo* (Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 2, p. 117). The Chinese translation is *fei-yü-suo-neng-chao* (非欲所能招 [*T.* 2:286c]). The equivalent passage in Sanskrit is *arhan sugato loke na rāgasya vaśaṃ vrajet / viṣayaṃ me hy atikrāntas, tasmāc chocāmy ahaṃ bhṛśam //* (*Lalitavistara*, ch. 24). "Lust": *rāga*. The equivalent Chinese passage gives *en-ai* (恩愛; "sexual love"). "My realm": *māradheyya*. The Chinese is *mo-ching* (魔境; "Māra's realm" [*T.* 2:286c]). "Grieve": *socāmi*. "I grieve" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 156); "ich bin bekümmert" (*Geiger SN*, p. 193). The Chinese is *yu-ch'ou* (憂愁; "grieve" [*T.* 2:286c]).

186. "We would serve": *pāde te paricārema*. The Chinese is *wo-chin-kuei shih-tsuen-tsu-hsia, chi-shih-shih-ling* (我今歸世尊足下、給侍使令 [*T.* 2:287a]).

187. "Paid them no heed": *na-manasākāsi*. The Chinese is *pu-ku-shih* (不顧視 [*T.* 2:287a]). "Heeded them not" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 156); "*beachtete sie gar nicht*" (*Geiger SN*, p. 193). The phrase is also translated into Chinese as *pu-ku-nien* (不顧念) or *pu-ku-mien* (不顧眄 [*T.* 2:287a]). If it is translated as *pu-tsuo-i* (不作意; "no attention"), as it was by traditional Buddhist scholars, it is incomprehensible.

188. "For": *yathā.*

189. "Deliberated": *samañcintesuṃ.* "Considered together" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 156); "überlegten zusammen" (*Geiger SN,* p. 193). The Chinese is *hsiang-wei-yen* (相謂言; "speaking together" [*T.* 2:287a]).

190. "Likes": *adhippāyā* (pl.). "Tastes" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 156); "Wünsche" (*Geiger SN,* p. 193). The Chinese is *sui-hsing ai-yü* (随形愛欲; "according to type of desire" [*T.* 2:287a]).

191. "Form of . . . women who have not yet given birth": *avijātavaṇṇa.* This was translated into Chinese as *wei-ch'an-se* (未産色; "not yet having given birth to form" [*T.* 2:287a]).

192. "You meditate": *jhāyasi.* The Chinese is *ch'an-chi-mei* (禅寂黙; "sitting silently in meditation" [*T.* 2:287a]).

193. The Chinese gives this as *she-su-ch'ien-ts'ai-pao* (捨俗錢財宝; "Have you thrown away your worldly money, wealth, and treasure?" [*T.* 2:287a]).

194. "Attainment of my purpose": *atthassa patti.* The Chinese translates this as *chih-tsu* (志足; "fulfilling the resolve" [*T.* 2:287a]). *Attha* is difficult to translate; its Chinese rendering as *chih* (志; "resolve") is of great interest. "Peace of mind": *santi.* The Chinese is *an-chi-mieh* (安寂滅; "peace and tranquillity" [*T.* 2:287a]).

195. "The five raging streams" are the defilements of eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and body, that is, the defilements that arise from the five sense organs (*Pañc' oghatiṇṇo ti, pañcadvārikaṃ kiles' ogham tiṇṇo; Spk.,* vol. 1, p. 187). The Chinese is *wu-yü* (五欲; "five desires" [*T.* 2:287b]). See also *Yü-ch'ieh shih-ti-lun,* fasc. 17 (*T.* 30:372c). "The sixth": *chaṭṭha* (*mano-dvārikaṃ pi chaṭṭhaṃ kiles' oghaṃ; Spk.,* vol. 1, p. 187). This refers to the defilements arising from the sixth organ, the mind.

196. "The body calm": *passaddhakāyo.* "With body tranquillized" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 158); "beruhigten Körpers" (*Geiger SN,* p. 196). Buddhaghosa interprets the phrase as meaning that breathing is quieted through practice of the fourth stage of *dhyāna* (*catuttha-jjhānena assāsa-passāsa-kāyassa passaddhatta passaddhakāyo; Spk.,* vol. 1, p. 187). This, of course, was a much later interpretation. "Creating nothing of deluded birth and existence": *asaṃkharonto* (= *tayo kammābhisaṅkhāre anabhisaṅkharonto; Spk.,* vol. 1, p. 187). "Attached to nothing": *anoko* (= *anālayo; Spk.,* vol. 1, p. 187). Buddhaghosa interprets "grows not weary" in terms of the three basic defilements. Anger through a feeling of wrath does not arise. Recollections of past pleasures through sensuous desire do not occur. There is no weariness arising from absent-mindedness. These three are the fundamental defilements of the total of fifteen hundred defilements (*dosena na kuppati, rāgena na sarati, mohena na thīno. Imesu tīsu mūla-kilesesu gahitesu diyaḍḍha-kilesa-sahassaṃ gahitam eva hoti; Spk.,* vol. 1, p. 187).

197. *SN,* I, 4, 3, 5, 1–18 (vol. 1, pp. 124–26). "Is in deep meditation": *jhāyaṃ.* This was translated into Chinese as *hsiu-hsi-ch'an* (修習禅; "practicing meditation" [*T.* 2:287b]).

198. "Having severed": *acchejja* (= Skt., *ācchedya*). The Chinese is *i-tuan-ch'u* (已

断除; "severed" [*T.* 2:287b]). "Craving": *taṇhā.* The Chinese is *en-ai* (恩愛; "sexual love" [*T.* 2:287b]).

199. Rhys Davids interprets the last four lines of the verse as the words of Māra; Geiger, on the other hand, interprets them as the words of the Venerable Master (Gotama). The Pāli commentary is silent on the question.

200. "Bite iron with . . . teeth": *ayo dantehi khādatha.* The manuscript Oldenberg referred to had *dantebhi;* this is an inflection used in the *Ṛg Veda* (Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften,* vol. 2, p. 1, 165). As the manuscripts were recopied, the old inflections were replaced with new ones.

201. "Hating Gotama." Cf. *Udv.*, XXI, 8.

202. "Came, radiantly shining": *daddallamānā.* In *Spk.* (vol. 1, p. 188), *daddaḷhamānā* (= *ativiya jalamānā sobhamānā*).

203. *SN,* I, 4, 3, 5, 19–23 (vol. 1, p. 127).

204. Zennō Ishigami claims that we should consider Māra's temptations to have occurred after Gotama's enlightenment ("Sōōbu ugehen ni arawareta Butsuden ni tsuite -toku ni jūyō jiken ni gentei shite" [The biography of the Buddha in the "Sagāthavagga" of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya,* limited to the main events], *Sankō bunka kenkyūjo nempō* 3 [1970]: 48–54).

205. *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:639c–41b).

206. *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:780c–81a).

207. *Āy.*, II, 15, 25; *Kalpa-sūtra,* 120–21.

208. *Āy.*, I, 3, 1; Hermann Jacobi, trans., *Jaina Sūtras,* vol. 22 of SBE [Oxford: The University Press, 1884; Reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964], p. 29.

209. The following passage is from a section of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* titled "The Rock" (Pāsāṇo; *SN,* I, 4, 2, 1, 1–5 [vol. 1, p. 109]). See also *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 39 (1088) (*T.* 2:285b).

210. The *Tsa a-han-ching* says: "Heaven rained in small drops." Sakyamuni was meditating in the open in the rain, undisturbed by a light rainfall in that hot climate.

211. "One after another": *mahante mahante pāsāṇe.* The repetition of the word *mahante* indicates "one after another" (*Pāsāṇā nirantaraṃ aññamaññaṃ abhihaṇantā patanti; Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 176).

212. *SN,* I, 4, 2, 9, 12–14 (vol. 1, p. 116). Since there is no equivalent passsage in the Chinese translation, this may represent a later development of the legend; such exchanges may have been conceived as a result of speculation about Māra's true nature.

213. Zennō Ishigami agrees with my thesis that Māra's temptations continued to occur after the enlightenment. See Ishigami, "Sōōbu ugehen ni arawareta butsuden ni tsuite."

214. *Sn.*, 432f.

215. The Sanskrit term for "austerities" is *duṣkaracaryā. Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:580a); S. Lefmann, ed., *Lalitavistara: Leben und Lehre des*

Çâkya-Buddha (Halle a S.: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1902–8), p. 244; *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 25 (*T.* 3:768c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:24b). The *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:511b–c), has the expression *ch'in-k'u-hsing* (勤苦行; "diligent practice of austerities"), and the *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:75a), has *ching-hsing* (浄行; "pure practice").

216. For example, *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 67f. Akanuma gives a large number of sources from the scriptures in *Shakuson* (pp. 205–10). Most Buddhist writings say that the austerities lasted six years (*Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 3 [*T.* 4:75a]; *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 [*T.* 4:24b]; *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 5 [*T.* 3:511b]). There is also the expression "six years of austerities" (*Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 7 [*T.* 3:581c]; *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 [*T.* 3:638b]; *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 25 [*T.* 3:769b]).

217. "Practiced austerities": *Sn.,* 446; *AN,* vol. 4, p. 88G. "Practiced the state of compassion": *Mettacittaṃ vibhāvetvā* (*AN,* vol. 4, p. 89G). In the following verse in the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 1:204a), Gotama is said to have trained for nearly eight years: "When I was twenty-nine, Subhadda, I left home and practiced the Way; / And when I was thirty-six, under the *bodhi* tree, / I realized the ultimate truth of the Noble Eightfold Path / And attained perfect and complete enlightenment."

218. *SN,* I, 4, 3, 4 (vol. 1, pp. 122–24).

219. *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:187c): "In the past I left home, / Practiced the way for twelve years, / And attained buddhahood. / Fifty years have passed / Since I began teaching the Dharma." This would mean that Gotama left home at nineteen, trained for twelve years, and taught for fifty years before entering *parinirvāṇa.*

220. See my *Jihi* (Compassion; Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1956), p. 55ff.

221. For example, *Sn.,* 77, 655; *Dhp.,* 395; *DN,* no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta,* III, 28 (vol. 2, p. 49G). Virtuous Brahmins are also praised for their practice of austerities (*Sn.,* 284, 292), though austerities in one who has not passed beyond doubt are rejected (*Sn.,* 249). See my *Genshi Bukkyō no seiritsu* (Formation of early Buddhism), vol. 14 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1992).

222. *SN,* I, 2, 3,10 (vol. 1, p. 66G).

223. *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 44 (*T.* 2:359c).

224. *DN,* no. 2, *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta,* 29–30 (vol. 1, pp. 57–58).

225. *MN,* no. 12, *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 77–79). Ascetic practice (*dukkarakārikā*) is also mentioned in *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 67f. See also *DN,* no. 8, *Kassapasīhanāda-suttanta* and no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta.*

226. This is said to be one of the five practices that Devadatta advocated.

227. *Antaraṭṭhaka,* "between the eighths." The Indian month is divided into two parts of fifteen days each, the first half extending from the day after the full moon to the end of a month, the second half lasting from the new moon to the

full moon. "Between the eighths" refers to the period between the eighth days of the two periods. According to the Chinese and Japanese lunar calendar, this would be between around the twenty-third of one month and around the eighth of the next.

228. *MN*, no. 12, *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 77–79).

229. "Sacred places": *cetiya*. Originally this referred to trees and places where deities were thought to be present, but later it meant shrines. I deal with this topic further in volume 2.

230. *MN*, no. 4, *Bhayabherava-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 17–21). I have omitted the next passage because it does not appear in the Chinese translation and is thought to be a later addition.

231. "Village of Senā": *Senā-nigama*. The *Wu-fen-lü* regards this as a Brahmin called Senā. "After the Buddha spoke in verse, he rose and went seeking alms in the village of Senā in Uruvelā. Then he went to the house of Senā the Brahmin. He stood silently outside the gate" (*T.* 22:103b). According to the *Ssu-fen-lü*, however, the original Indic version seems to say *senānī-g[r]āma*, "in the village of the general in Uruvelā" (*T.* 22:780c), which is interpreted as "visiting the village of general Uruvelā."

232. "The Nerañjarā" has been added from the Chinese translation.

233. *MN*, no. 26, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 166–67). *MN*, no. 36, *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 240), has the same content.

234. The Līlājan River joins the Mohana a little over a kilometer from Bodhgayā, and the Mohana then joins the Phalgu.

235. See note 109 (p. 431).

236. *MN*, no. 36, *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 242 46). See also *MN*, no. 85, *Bodhirājakumāra-sutta*, vol. 2, p. 93; *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 5 (110) (*T.* 2:35a–37b); *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 23 (8) (*T.* 2:670c–72b).

237. *MN*, no. 12, *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 80f.), and *MN*, no. 36, *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 245).

238. This may be a kind of ivy or reed.

239. This section is titled "Performance of Ascetic Practice and Ritual" (*Tapo kammañ ca.*), *SN*, I, 4, 1 (vol. 1, p. 103); *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (1094) (*T.* 2:287c–88a). "Penance and Work" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 128); "Kasteiung und rituelles Tun" (*Geiger SN*, p. 160). Despite the title, which suggests that the compiler considered two topics, only the performance of ascetic practices (*tapo-kamma*) is discussed.

240. The banyan tree beneath which Sakyamuni sat was called Ajapāla, "Goatherd." The name may be derived from the protection given by the tree's shade. Just as personal names are given to pet dogs and cats in some cultures, in India individual trees are named.

241. *Tapokamma:* If *yena* in the original passage *Tapokammā apakkamma // yena sujjhanti mānavā //* is read as *ye na*, the line can be translated "Though, apart from ascetic practices, men cannot be purified." My reading is based on the Chinese

translation, which I think more clearly expresses the meaning. "Abandoned those practices": *tapokammā apakkamma* (= *tapo-kammāto apakkamitvā; Spk.*, p. 168). This indicates that a single question is being addressed, that of the performance of ascetic practices.

242. "Austerities": the standard text has *aparaṃ tapaṃ;* variants and the commentary (*Spk.*, p. 169) have *amaraṃ tapaṃ*, and I have gone along with them. The commentary has *amaraṇa-tapaṃ amara-bhāv' atthāya kataṃ, lūkhaṃ tapaṃ, attakilamath' ānuyogo.* See *akāsiṃ amaraṃ tapaṃ* (*Therag.*, 219).

243. "[Stranded] on dry land": *piyārittam va dhammaniṃ* (v.l. *dhammani*). Geiger considers *dhammani* to be the Sanskrit *dhanvani* ("in a dry place"), and I think this is completely acceptable. Woodward (*Spk.*, p. 169) amends it to *ghammani*, but there is no evidence for this in the manuscript, and the amendment does not clarify the meaning.

244. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 1, 1–5 (vol. 1, p. 103).

245. For such expressions, see pp. 170–75.

246. *MN*, no. 36, *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 246–47). No Chinese translation of this passage is extant.

CHAPTER 4: REALIZING THE TRUTH

1. "Bodhgayā": *Buddhagayā* is based on the Sanskrit and Pāli pronunciation. In the local area it is written as बोधगया, which is transliterated as *Bodhgayā* by Cunningham. *Buddhagayā* does not appear either in the ancient sutras or in Sanskrit literature. The Chinese monks who traveled to India did not use this name, referring only to "the place of the *bodhi* tree." The place name *Gayā* appears in early documents as a sacred place in Hinduism; *Bodhgayā* seems to be a relatively recently coined designation to distinguish the place of the Buddha's enlightenment from Gayā.

Legends relating to the enlightenment: *DN*, vol. 2, p. 52; *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 1, 1–7; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 75, l. 1; Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1 (Rome: IsMEO, 1977), 117–19; *CPS*, pp. 432–34; *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, p. 17; *Visuddhimagga*, XVII; *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 1: *Ta-pen-ching* (*T.* 1:7b–8b); *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 24: *Ta-yin-ching* (*T.* 1:578b–82b); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15, 3 (*T.* 22:102c–3a); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31, 1 (*T.* 22:781a–c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:124c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 3:595a–97a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 3:521c–24c); *Tai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 3:480a–c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:642a–b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 30 (*T.* 3:792c–96b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:26c–28a).

Artistic representations include "Going to the *bodhi* tree," second–fourth century, Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB*, pl. II-68); "Attainment of enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree," first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (Osamu Takata

and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* [Art of India], vol. 2 [Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 298; *WOB*, pl. II-75, 76; Sōtarō Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō* [Stone sculptures of ancient India; Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1970], pl. 21); "Attainment of enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree," Gandhāra, British Museum (Tetsujirō Inoue and Kentoku Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden* [Biography of Śākyamuni, enlarged edition; Tokyo: Maekawa Bun'eikaku, 1911], 96); "Attainment of enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree," Borobuḍur (Yūken Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru* [Borobuḍur rises; Nagoya: Ajia Bunka Kōryū Sentā, 1987], p. 114); "The deities praising Śākyamuni after his enlightenment" (*Nagarj.*, p. 44, pl. IV).

"*Abhisaṃbuddha*": Benimadhab Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, 2 vols., Indian History Series no. 1 and Fine Arts Series no. 4 (Calcutta: Indian Research Institute, 1934), reviewed by A. K. Coomaraswamy (*JAOS* 57 [1937]: 191 93). Visual representations: Bodhgayā (*WOB*, pl. 2); map of the historical remains at Bodhgayā (Shōkō Watanabe, *Shin Shakuson den* [A new biography of the Buddha; Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1966], p. 485); "King Aśoka and his queen visiting Bodhgayā," Sāñcī, Stupa 1, East Gateway (Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, and Ryōjun Satō, ed., *Budda no sekai* [The world of the Buddha; Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980], pl. 3-47); "Attaining enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree," first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu*, vol. 2, pl. 298; *WOB*, pl. 75, 76; Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō*, pl. 30); "Śākyamuni's attainment of enlightenment," Gandhāra, British Museum (Inoue and Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden*, p. 96).

The pipal tree: Emeneau, "The Strangling Figs in Sanskrit Literature," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 13, no. 10 (1949): 345f. Cf. *Kaṭh. Up.* According to Unrai Ogihara, *Bonwa daijiten* (Sanskrit-Japanese dictionary; Tokyo : Kodansha, 1986), the *aśvattha* is the *bodhi* tree, scientific name *Ficus religiosa*. In Chinese translation (*Buddhacarita*) it appears as *chi-hsiang-shu* (吉祥樹) and *chi-an-(lin)* (吉安[林]), and in transliteration (*Lalitavistara*) it appears as *a-shuo-t'a* (阿說他). In *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* Williams describes it as "the holy fig tree, Ficus Religiosa." His sources include *AV*, *Śat. Br.* Vaman Shivram Apte defines it as 1) the holy fig tree (Marāthī, *pimpal*); 2) a variety of the *aśvattha* tree (*nandīvṛkṣa;* Marāthī, *nāṃdurakhī*); and 3) the name of another tree, *gardabhāṇḍa* (Marāthī, *lākhī pimpari*) in *The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968). *PW* gives a fairly long explanation: the name of a tree, *Ficus religiosa*, regarded as sacred, and the object of veneration by Buddhists in particular, since Śākyamuni sat beneath such a tree and there discarded all worldly concerns. It extends its roots into fissures of other trees and into cracks in walls and houses, causing them to collapse. One source cited by Böhtlingk is *Ṛg Veda*, 10.97.5. The Pali Text Society dictionary defines *assattha* as "the holy fig tree, *Ficus religiosa;* the tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment, i.e. the Bo tree." Sources include *Vinaya*, IV, 35; *DN*, II, 4 (*sammā-sambuddho assatthassa mūle abhisaṃbuddho*); and *SN*, V, 96. Many dictionaries hold that *assattha* is derived from "a place where the horse stands," but the Pali Text Society dictionary ques-

tions this and states that it was adopted from a local dialect, a suggestion with which I agree.

2. *DN*, vol. 2, p. 52.

3. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 1–24 (vol. 1, pp. 1–44); English translation, I. B. Horner, trans., *The Book of the Discipline*, vol. 4, vol. 14 of Sacred Books of the Buddhists (London: Luzac & Co., 1970), pp. 1–57.

4. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 68f. An English translation is found in Henry Clarke Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1896), pp. 71–83.

5. Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* (Berlin: W. Hertz, 1881), 106, nn. 1, 2.

6. Most modern Indians say that the *bodhi* tree is the *pippala*, and most scholars agree that the two are the same. This can be verified from the previously cited examples from the Marāthī language. See *Kogetsu zenshū* (Complete collection of Kaigyoku Watanabe's Works; Tokyō: Daitō Shuppansha, 1933), p. 10f.

7. *AV*, V, 4; VI, 95; XIX, 39. Cf. Hermann Beckh, *Buddhismus*, 3d ed., vol. 1 (Berlin and Leipzig: Sammlung Göschen, 1928), p. 86; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 127, n. 1.

8. For details, see Emeneau, "Strangling Figs."

9. In Aryendra Sharma and Hans J. Vermeer, *Hindi-Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: J. Groos, 1983), there is no entry for *aśvattha*, but the entry for *pīpal* explains it as "Indischer Feigenbaum, Götzenbaum, Asvatha, Bo, Bodhi, Pipal, Pappelfeigenbaum (*Ficus religiosa*)." Sharma and Vermeer consider *vaṭ* to be "Banyanbaum (*Ficus bengalensis/indica*)." R. C. Pathak, ed., *Bhargava's Standard Illustrated Dictionary of the Hindi Language* (Banaras: Shree Ganga Pustakalaya, 1946), explains *aśvattha* as "the pipal tree, the holy fig (*Ficus religiosa*)," and *pīpar, pīpal* as "the holy fig tree, long pepper."

10. Adapted from the description by Naoki Nishioka in Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Bukkyō shokubutsu sansaku* (Rambling among the Buddhist plants; Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1986), p. 55.

11. *Mahāvaṃsa*, I, 12.

12. *Mahāvaṃsa*, III, 2.

13. "At that time, through the strength of his compassion, the Bodhisattva on the evening of the seventh day of the second month, having quelled the demon, emitted a great radiance" (*Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 [*T.* 3:641b]).

14. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 51:916b).

15. Quotations in this section are from *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 78–80.

16. See pp. 164–67 of this volume.

17. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:863a–b). See also James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (New York: Paragon Reprint Corp., 1964), 87–90.

18. For the diamond seat, see Kentoku Sasaki, "Butsuzakō" (Notes about the Buddha Seat), *Kikan shūkyō kenkyū* 2, no. 1 (1940): 149f.

19. Quotations from Hsüan-tsang in this section are from *T.* 51:915b–c. See also Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, p. 115–19.

20. I have seen the *bodhi* tree at Bodhgayā in both winter and summer; it retains its glossy green leaves year round.

21. *Ta-T'ang Ta-tz'u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih-chuan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 50:236b–c).

22. Jirō Sugiyama, ed., *Indo no bijutsu* (Indian art), vol. 4 of *Gurando sekai bijutsu* (Great art of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976), no. 18.

23. The eighth chapter of the Rock Edicts has *ayāya saṃbodhiṃ.* There is considerable dispute among scholars as to the exact meaning of *saṃbodhi* here. The general usage in Buddhist works is "the Buddha's enlightenment" (e.g., T. W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha,* Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vols. 2–4 [London: Luzac, 1971–73], vol. 1, pp. 190–92). Rhys Davids seems to have followed the Mahāyāna interpretation. The expression "Aśoka attained enlightenment" does not fit the context of the edict at all, however. Here *saṃbodhi* means "the place where Gotama attained complete and perfect enlightenment," that is, the *bodhi* tree at Bodhgayā (cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka* [Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1969], 71). Similar examples are found in early Buddhist works (*mahāyitvāna sambodhiṃ; Jātaka,* vol. 4, p. 236, l. 2; *rajñā bodhau śatasahasraṃ dattaṃ; Divyāv.,* p. 393). There are also instances where Bodhgayā is called Bodhi (*Divyāv.,* p. 397; P. L. Vaidya, ed., *Divyāvadāna,* vol. 20 of Buddhist Sanskrit Texts [Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1959], p. 254, l. 26). For Aśoka's visit to the *bodhi* tree, see also *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 51:915c) and Anton Schiefner, ed., *Tāranāthas Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien* (St. Petersburg: Commissionaire der Kaiserlichen akademie der wissenschaften, 1869), 36. Veneration of the *bodhi* tree also appears in the *Mahāvaṃsa,* XVII, 17.

24. *A-yü-wang-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 50:137c).

25. *Divyāv.,* pp. 397–98.

26. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:863c).

27. *Mahāvaṃsa,* XV, 21–22; XVIII, 4–15; XIX.

28. R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pali Language* (London: Trübner & Co., 1875), p. 93.

29. Repairs were made in the late Gupta period (ca. sixth century), when granite was used, and the original designs were reproduced faithfully. It is said that at about the time the repairs using granite were made, the Mahāvihāra was built at Bodhgayā. An inscription says that this temple was repaired in 450 by King Sado (Thado Meng according to the Burmese inscription). It was destroyed by Śaśāṅka in the seventh century but was restored, according to an inscription dated 1079, by a Burmese between 1035 and 1079. An inscription of 1157 indicates that repairs were carried out by King Asokaballa of Sawalak or Siwalik (the present Kumaon region) shortly before the Muslim invasion of 1198. Considerably earlier than the Muslim invasion the Mahāvihāra had become a Hindu temple. Records show that in 850 King Dharmapāla enshrined a statue of the

four-headed Mahādeva there "for the benefit of the people of Mahābodhi." The continued use of the Buddhist name Mahābodhi as a place name is of interest.

30. Recent studies suggest that the balustrade dates from the Śuṅga period (ca. 180–ca. 68 B.C.E.; Osamu Takata, *Indo nankai no Bukkyō bijutsu* [Buddhist art of South India; Tokyo: Sōgeisha, 1943], 19; Vincent A. Smith, *Rulers of India: Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901], 114).

31. *Divyāv.*, p. 404; *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 51:915c).

32. *vāra* (*Divyāv.*, p. 403).

33. Alexander Cunningham, *The Mahābodhi or the Great Temple* (London: W. H. Allen, 1892), p. 15.

34. Bodh-Gayā inscriptions, no. 10.

35. Following are some observations made during my own visits to modern Bodhgayā. I first went there in the autumn of 1951, visiting again in December 1956 and several times thereafter. In 1956 I traveled with a group by bus from Gayā Station. On one of the buses was the inscription "Rājyā Ṭrānspōrṭ," a mixture of Hindi and English written in the Devanāgarī script. From there to Bodhgayā it is a distance of some 15 kilometers (some say 11 kilometers; the distance seems to depend on whether one uses the old road or the new). Bodhgayā is some 220 kilometers southeast of Vārāṇasī. On leaving Gayā we traveled along roads lined with date palms, *jambu* trees, and tall coconut palms, with small hills to the left and a wide plain to the right. As we approached Bodhgayā, we came to a tall welcome arch on which were painted lotus flowers and, in Sanskrit, the words *dharmaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi* ("I take refuge in the Dharma"). Here we received garlands.

A little farther on we crossed grazing land and could see *śāla* trees and hemp palms. Small hills were surrounded by wooden palings and wire. It reminded me of the United States. To the left, Mount Prāgbodhi came into view. Ahead a goatherd was leading his flock. Five women walked along the road carrying baskets on their heads. The fields spread out into the distance. Three children were riding cows, and a cowherd was driving his herd along with the help of a stick. The road was well paved, and the traffic moved smoothly. Fields stretched out on both sides. Then, in front of us, there rose the tall tower of the Mahāvihāra, our destination.

We came to a second arch, on which was written, in Sanskrit, *saṅghaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi* (I take refuge in the Community). Surprised that I could not see the Nerañjarā River, since it had been readily visible on my previous visit, I was told that we had taken the new road instead of the old, which paralleled the river. Planting of trees along the road seemed to have just begun, and each young tree was circled with bricks to protect it from cattle.

About three kilometers farther on was Bodhgayā. We passed a Chinese temple, Chung-hua Ta-chio-ssu (Chinese Temple of the Great Enlightenment), and then the bus stopped. My companions and I received a warm welcome, the crowd so

great it was almost impossible to move. Most of the people were local residents. There were also schoolgirls and some Westerners. I was surprised to see that a Western Catholic nun had brought some girls to join in the welcome. This could be interpreted as a sign of Catholic sympathy toward and admiration of Buddhism or as evidence of Catholic penetration even of the holy places of Buddhism. We were draped with jasmine garlands.

The tower-shaped Mahāvihāra dominates the scene. It has been repaired many times over the centuries, so it is difficult to know exactly when it was first constructed. Since it appears to have existed in substantially the present form when Hsüan-tsang visited in the seventh century, it must have been built some time before that. The nearby stone foundation is thought to have been built by Aśoka. Experts call the tower a "delicate pyramid," since it is not as stout as most Hindu temples. Encircling the tower is a stone-paved path bordered by a stone balustrade on which are inscribed, in late Mauryan (second century B.C.E.) script, the names of donors. A small part of the balustrade dates from the early Gupta period (fourth century C.E.).

I was told that the tower had once been buried up to the terrace and that its surroundings had been exposed through excavations. The tower is fifty-four meters high, and a large statue of the Buddha sits in the gloomy interior. The outer surface is extensively carved. It is possible to climb to the second story. (Some years later I saw Tibetan monks chanting sutras on the second-story terrace.) Small towers at each corner of the Great Tower provide architectural balance. Color photographs often suggest that the building is green, but in fact it is yellow and reddish brown. The green, I was told, had been due to moss, which had been stripped off when the temple was cleaned for the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's birth (Buddhajayanti), celebrated in 1956.

The *bodhi* tree is west of the Mahāvihāra and is decked with small colorful banners. A fairly large rectangular stone platform lies between the tree and the west wall of the Mahāvihāra. On the platform is a red sandstone slab. This is the diamond seat, marking the spot where the enlightenment occurred. The platform's surface is carved and is darkly stained from the perfumed oil offered by pilgrims. This platform was built at a fairly late date. The grounds of the temple are dotted with stupas donated by Buddhists of long ago.

On the eastern side of the Mahāvihāra is the Śrijannath Temple. To the right of the temple is an ambulatory (*caṅkrama*) paved with flagstones. A row of stones carved with lotus flowers commemorates the legend that lotus flowers sprang up where the Buddha walked. It is said that the stones were placed there on the order of Aśoka. Stones bearing carvings of the Buddha's footprint are found in several places, and there is a pillar said to have been donated by Aśoka. I was told by a local resident that the pillar was moved to its present location beside the Bodhgayā tank from the nearby area associated with Sujātā in January 1958. It originally bore an inscription, but it was defaced by Muslims.

The inner court of the Mahāvihāra contains many stupas donated by followers of Buddhism. They contain bones or sutras or commemorate special occasions. In 1956 the superintendent of the Bodhgayā temple was Munindra Prasad Barua. He was not a Buddhist *bhikṣu* but a Hindu *acariya* who wore a white robe, an unmarried layman undergoing religious training. (I met him again in 1961 at a Buddhist temple in Calcutta.)

In the far distance from the Mahāvihāra six small towers are visible. They belong to a Shivaite temple, whose resident priests are called *mahantas*. Formerly the *mahantas* supervised all of Bodhgayā. Even today, though they have lost their autocratic power, they continue to live at the temple, the site of the *samadhi* (cremation grounds) of earlier generations of *mahantas*.

Beside the Mahāvihāra is a lotus pond in which Gotama is said to have bathed. The red lotuses blooming there are very beautiful. (When I revisited Bodhgayā in 1981, I noticed that the petals of the lotus flowers were actually red at the tip and white in the center.) The surroundings are now well tended, and the white ambulatory circling the pond is splendid. Near the pond is a building belonging to the Mahabodhi Society, where I learned that pilgrims from Tibet, Bhutan, and other places stay. Behind it is a red sandstone Jaina temple. Jaina temples are found at all Buddhist sites. The energy and determination of the Jainas is amazing. There is also a Tibetan temple that has been repainted in recent years.

Pilgrims from many countries have been visiting Bodhgayā for centuries. North of the Mahāvihāra is a monastery made up of a large number of cells facing a square central courtyard. It was built by a king of Sri Lanka to house pilgrims from that land. There is also a free hostel for Hindu pilgrims built by one of India's greatest industrialists, J. K. Birla. I was told that some inscriptions carved by Chinese pilgrim monks have been found at Bodhgayā. An inscribed stone commemorates the visit here in 1883 of the Japanese priest Kitabatake Dōryū. It reads: "The first [Japanese] to visit the site of Śākyamuni's enlightenment since the foundation of Japan. December 4, 1883. Dōryū." Today the pilgrims are no less varied. Yellow-robed monks from the countries of southern Asia sit cross-legged beneath the *bodhi* tree reciting sutras (Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Indo no busseki to Hindū jiin* [Buddhist sites of India and Hindu temples], vol. 5 of *Sekai no bunka shiseki* [Historical sites of culture in the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], pl. 5).

There are in Bodhgayā a Thai temple, a Tibetan temple, a Chinese temple, and a Japanese temple. There is also a rather large Buddhist university. When I first visited Bodhgayā in 1951 an old nun named Ch'u-yüan, who had gone to India from the area of Han-k'ou in the 1920s, was living in the Chinese temple. An American Buddhist priest lives in the priests' lodging beside the Japanese temple, and a Western woman is living in the temple itself. The temple was

finished on December 6, 1973. Its objectives were outlined in Japanese, which I translated into Sanskrit at the request of the then head of Sōji-ji, Iwamoto Shōshun, a religious leader who did much to support the foundation of the Japanese temple. Engraved on a bronze placque are the words *Anuvāditaḥ śrī-Hājime / Nākāmura iti mahācāryeṇa / Tokyo-viśvavidyālayasya* (Thus translated by Mr. Hajime Nakamura, professor of the University of Tokyo). In the translation I received much help from P. J. Rao, a Brahmin, who was councillor at the Indian Embassy in Tokyo at the time. The Japanese temple is teaching a variety of subjects related to Japan. Bodhgayā also has an archaeological museum with an important collection. Of special interest are the indications of an ancient solar cult.

When I revisited Bodhgayā in January 1976 and February 1981, I found it had become quite a tourist center. Welcome signs in Hindi were displayed here and there. In 1981 I saw Westerners and visitors from Ladakh, and even Westerners among the Tibetan monks. There was a branch of the State Bank of India and a large souvenir shop catering to Japanese tourists called the Daitō Shōji Emporium. I had not seen a single Japanese there in 1951. But people like the Western woman making full prostrations at the Mahāvihāra were not simply tourists, of course.

Bodhgayā has been greatly beautified, and the sacred sites are enclosed in a large park. For this work the government of Bihar gave 10 million rupees, and the central government also made a substantial contribution. The government of the People's Republic of China, incidentally, donated 10,000 rupees for the preservation of the historical sites of Bodhgayā at the time of the 2,500th anniversary celebrations.

In recent years Bodhgayā has changed further, with the completion in 1986 of restoration work in accord with Indian taste. Pilgrims are numerous, and despite the growing tourist industry the area remains the most important center of Buddhist activity in India.

36. For research on the nature of the enlightenment, see Ryūjō Kambayashi, "Shakuson no jōbutsu ni tsuite" (On Śākyamuni's attainment of buddhahood), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 2, no. 2 (March 1954): 352 56 and Shōson Miyamoto, *Chūdō shisō oyobi sono hattatsu* (The philosophy of the Middle Way and its development; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1944), 114–52. For discussion of Sanskrit fragments corresponding to parts of the Pāli canon that mention Gotama's enlightenment, see Ernst Waldschmidt, "Die Erleuchtung des Buddha," *Festschrift Krause* (1960), pp. 214–29, and *Von Ceylon bis Turfan* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 396–411.

37. "Mahāvagga," I, 1, 1–7. The *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:102c–103a), also says that the Buddha attained the fourth *dhyāna*, attained the Three Knowledges, and observed the principle of dependent origination, and thus gained enlighten-

ment. See also *SN,* XII, 65 (vol. 2, p. 104f.); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 12 (*T.* 2:80b–81a); *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 31 (4) (*T.* 2:718a–c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 3:477a).

38. In India the night was divided into three parts, which the Chinese translated as "early night" (*ch'u-yeh;* 初夜), "middle night" (*chung-yeh;* 中夜), and "late night" (*hou-yeh;* 後夜). The first division was the first three hours after sunset. Pāli: *rattiyā paṭhamaṃ yāmaṃ* ("in the first *yāma* of the night"). *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:102c); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:781b); *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 1, 2. The second division was the three midnight hours. Pāli: *rattiyā majjhimaṃ yāmaṃ* ("in the middle *yāma* of the night"). *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 (*T.* 22: 781b); *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 1, 4. The third division was the three hours before sunrise. Pāli: *rattiyā pacchimaṃ yāmaṃ* ("in the last *yāma* of the night"). *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:781c); *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 1, 6. *Yāma* is a synonym of *prahara.* Each day was divided into eight three-hour divisions (cf. *Amara,* I, 3, 6). Chinese did not have a word corresponding to this, so it was translated as discussed above. The closest word in Chinese to *yāma* was *ching* (更) or *k'e* (刻; two hours). *Triyāma* was consequently nine hours and designated the night as a whole (Kālidāsa, *Meghadūta,* v. 105). The term *yāmamātraṃ* means "just one division," *kṣaṇamātram* (Vallabhadeva's commentary on the *Meghadūta,* 94).

39. *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:130b, l. 14); fasc. 7 (*T.* 24:137b). The paragraph in the Sanskrit text beginning "*bodhimūle 'cirābhisaṃbuddho vimuktiprītisukha-pratisaṃvedī*" (*CPS,* p. 80) is based mainly on the Tibetan and Chinese translations. The manuscript fragment known as M 476 (cf. *CPS,* p. 102, n. 1) also appears to have been an important source for the reconstruction.

40. *SN,* XII, 10 (*Mahā Sakyamuni Gotamo*), I–II (vol. 2, pp. 10–11); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 12 (285) (*T.* 2:79c–80b).

41. *SN,* XII, 65 (vol. 2, p. 104f.).

42. I discuss this question in greater detail in my *Genshi Bukkyō no shisō* [The philosophy of early Buddhism], vols. 15 and 16 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1993, 1994).

43. See Hajime Nakamura, "Engisetsu no genkei" [The prototype of the doctrine of dependent origination], *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 5, no. 1 (1957): 59–68. I deal with this question more deeply in vol. 2.

44. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 75.

45. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 76, l. 21.

46. *Ariyapariyesana-sutta, MN,* no. 26 (vol. 1, p. 167). (See p. 96 in this volume.)

47. *SN,* XXXV, 13 (1), vol. 4, pp. 6–7.

48. *SN,* XXXV, 14 (2), vol. 4, p. 8.

49. *SN,* XII, 26, "Assādo" (1), "Assādo" (vol. 3, pp. 27–28).

50. *SN,* XLVIII, 28, "Nabbhavo" (vol. 5, p. 206). There is no Chinese translation of this sutra.

51. *SN*, XLVIII, 21, "Nabbhavo" (vol. 5, pp. 203–4); *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 26 (650) (*T.* 2:182c–183a).

52. *SN*, LI, 11, "Pubbe" (vol. 5, pp. 263–66).

53. *RV*, IV, 26, 1.

54. *Kalpa-sūtra*, 120–21 (Hermann Jacobi, trans., *Jaina Sūtras*, vol. 22 of SBE [Oxford: The University Press, 1884; Reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964], pp. 263–64).

55. *SN*, LI, 21, "Maggo" (vol. 5, pp. 281–82). The five wonderworking powers are explained in detail in such texts as Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (Path of Purity), a later Pāli work.

56. *Bhayabherava-sutta*, *MN*, no. 4 (vol. 1, p. 21 f.).

57. *Dvedhā-vitakka-sutta*, *MN*, no. 19 (vol. 1, p. 114f.).

58. *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*, *MN*, no. 36 (vol. 1, pp. 247–49).

59. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 75. "Past existences": It is said the Buddha also knew of other existences: *āyuṃ aññam pi jānāsi* (*Jātaka*, no. 405, v. 8 [vol. 3, p. 363, ll. 3–4]).

60. *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*, *MN*, no. 26 (vol. 1, p. 160).

61. *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56: *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:775c–78c).

62. *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 44 (1188) (*T.* 2:321–322); *Pieh-i Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 5 (101) (*T.* 2:410). Cf. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga" (Henry Clarke Warren, *Buddhism in Translations* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1896], pp. 83–87).

63. "Bitter": *dukkham*. "Ill" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 175); "übel" (*Geiger SN*, p. 217). This is probably a critical remark incorporating some ethical evaluation.

64. "Moral code": *sīlakkhandha*. "Moral code" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 175); "die sittliche Zucht" (*Geiger SN*, p. 217). This is often translated into Chinese as *chieh-yün* (戒蘊; "precepts aggregate"). "If I had not yet perfected . . . a *samaṇa* or a Brahmin." From the point of view of Buddhism, it does not matter if one's master is a *samaṇa* or a Brahmin.

65. "The wisdom and insight of liberation": *vimuttiñāṇa-dassana*. In the *Tsa a-han-ching*, *chieh-t'uo-chih-chien* (解脫知見; "wisdom and insight of liberation").

66. "What if I were to pay respect and give obedience to the Dhamma?": *yaṃ nūnāhaṃ yvāyaṃ dhammo mayā abhisambuddho tam eva dhammaṃ sakkātvā garukatvā upanissāya vihareyyaṃ*. This is an extremely important sentence, for it indicates Buddhism's stance. "*Wie wäre es, wenn ich jetzt an die Wahrheit, die von mir durch Erleuchtung erkannt worden ist, mich anschiösse, ihr dienend und sie verehrend?*" (*Geiger SN*, p. 218). Rhys Davids personifies *dharma* and treats it as a deity. "This Norm then, wherein I am supremely enlightened—what if I were to live under It, paying It honour and respect!" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 175). Here we find the Western Christian outlook that demands that an absolute principle must be a personified deity. In the Sanskrit epics and the *Purāṇas* sometimes *dharma* is personified (Edward W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India* [Boston and London: Ginn, 1895–1908], pp. 249,

358; cf. *Manu-smṛti,* XII, 50). This influenced Buddhism, so that in the *Smaller Sukhāvatī-vyūha* we find "Dharma Buddha." In the *Śat. Br., dharma* is considered to be identical with Indra (*PW,* s.v. *dharma,* [9]). In the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* the Dharma is considered to be the highest principle, placed above the Buddha. (For the Dhamma, refer to *Vinaya,* vol. 1, p. 91; *MN,* vol. 1, p. 171.) Buddhism was originally based on the Dhamma; that worship of the Buddha is a later addition is clear here.

67"Lord of the world": *sahampati.* See *Ogihara Unrai bunshū* (Collection of Unrai Ogihara's essays; Tokyo: Taishō Daigaku Bukkyōgaku Ogihara Unrai Kinen Kenkyūkai, 1938), p. 852. According to Buddhaghosa (*Spk.,* p. 199) there was in the time of Kassapa Buddha an elder (*thera*) called Sahaka who as a result of his religious practice became Brahmā (*Pj.,* p. 476). That doctrinal scholars employed such a popular derivation indicates that the meaning of *sahampati* was already obscure. Chinese translators transliterated it as *suo-p'o* (娑婆) indicating that they found it difficult to translate the term.

68. *Arahant* ("one who should be venerated"): when this word came into use, many buddhas were thought to occupy the worlds of the past and the future as well as the present. At the moment only the one Buddha, Gotama, exists. Thus Mahāyāna Buddhism developed the idea of many buddhas.

69. "This is the law [*dhammatā*] of all buddhas." Cf. *Udv.,* XXI, 11.

70. *SN,* VI, 1, 2 (vol. 1, pp. 138–40). "pay respect." Cf. *Udv.,* XXI, 13. This passage expresses the fundamental outlook of Buddhism.

After compiling the information for this chapter, I learned of a useful publication that I recommend: Dipak K. Barua, *Buddha Gaya Temple, Its History,* 2d ed. (Buddha Gaya: Buddhagaya Temple Management Committee, 1981).

CHAPTER 5: TEACHING THE TRUTH

1. The legend of the protection given to Gotama by the *nāga* king: *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 3, 1–3; *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 80, l. 1; Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu* (Rome: IsMEO, 1977), part 1, p. 126; *CPS,* pp. 438–39; *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:103a–b); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:781c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:125c–126a).

Representations in art: third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. 1); Borobuḍur (Yūken Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru* [Borobuḍur rises; Nagoya: Ajia Bunka Kōryū Sentā, 1987], p. 106f.); National Museum, Bangkok (*WOB,* pl. 2); thirteenth century, Angkor, Ayutthaya Museum (Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* [New Nork: Harry N. Abrams, 1971], pl. 203).

2. *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 2, 1–1, 4, 1.

3. For example, the early Chinese translation of the *Lalitavistara,* the *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 3:523f.).

4. In *CPS,* p. 96f., Waldschmidt gives "Mucalinda," but he supplements it with the Pāli word, and the manuscript itself is unclear.

5. *CPS,* vol. 1, p. 5; vol. 2, p. 102, n. 1. Mitsuyoshi Saegusa pointed out that the part describing the twelve-linked chain of dependent origination is missing. Refer also to *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:126a) and fasc. 7 (*T.* 24:126b).

6. Quotations in this section are from *Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 77–78.

7. The ideal for practitioners who wander from place to place was known to Schopenhauer: "And as an Indian counterpart of this, we find in the precepts of Fo [transliteration of a Chinese ideogram meaning Buddha] that the Saniassi, who ought to be without a dwelling and entirely without property, is further finally enjoined not to lay himself down often under the same tree, lest he should acquire a preference or inclination for it above other trees" (*The World as Will and Idea,* vol. 1, trans. R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp [London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1909], p. 503).

8. *Udāna,* I–4 (p. 3); *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 2, 1 3 (vol. 1, pp. 2–3).

9. *SN,* IV, *Mārasaṃyutta,* 3, 4 (Sattavassāni), vol. 1, pp. 122–24.

10. *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 39 (1092) (*T.* 2:286b c); *Pieh-i Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 2 (31) (*T.* 2:383a–b).

11. *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 9 (246) (*T.* 2:59a–b).

12. The Tibetan version (p. 97) and the Chinese *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:125–26) relate this section after the conversion of the two merchants. The Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* probably followed suit.

13. *Udāna,* II–1 (p. 10); *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 3, 1–4 (vol. 1, pp. 3).

14. The Sanskrit and Tibetan (pp. 96–97) versions have "He proceeded toward the abode of Mucalinda, the *nāga* king. Having arrived there, he sat down against the root of a tree."

15. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 80.

16. Egaku Maeda, "Indo no butten ni arawareta ryū to ryūgū" (*Nāgas* and their palaces in Indian Buddhist texts), *Tōkai Bukkyō,* no. 5 (June 1959): 29–35. For the *nāga* in biographies of the Buddha, see Yūshō Miyasaka, "Butsuden ni mieru nāga ni tsuite: Indo kodaishi no ichidanmen" (On *nāgas* in Buddhist texts: An aspect of ancient Indian history), *Chisan gakuhō,* nos. 12, 13 (1964): 145–63.

17. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 80.

18. The legend of the offerings of the two merchants: *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 4, 1–5 (vol. 1, p. 3f.); *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 80, l. 16; *CPS,* pp. 81–86, 435–37; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 122–25; *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:103a); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:781c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:125a–b); *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 3:479a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:643b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 3:801a c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 10 (*T.* 3:601c); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:526b–c).

Representations in art: "The food offering of Tapussa and Bhallika," third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. III-3) and Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 34); "The four heavenly kings offering a bowl," second century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Takashi Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* [Sakyamuni in the fine arts; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979], pl. 47; Osamu Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen* [Origin of Buddhist images; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967], pl. 25; *WOB,* pl. III-4), and Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 33); "A youth offers mud," Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 52) and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*Nagarj.,* p. 150, pl. XXI).

The developed legend said that the two had many vehicles and were escorting a large group of merchants. "For seven days [the Buddha] sat cross-legged, delighting in his liberation. At the end of seven days he emerged from his meditation and wandered among people. There were five hundred merchants, riding in five hundred vehicles. Two [merchants] were especially splendid; they were named Tapussa and Bhallika" (*Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 [*T.* 22:103a]). "After he had gained enlightenment, the Buddha, wanting to instruct Tapussa and Bhallika and the [rest of the] five hundred merchants, caused the chariots and horses to halt and the merchants and their companions and other people not to proceed. They wondered at the reason" (*Ta-pao-chi-ching,* fasc. 11 [*T.* 11:64c]). The names of the two merchants Tapassu and Bhallika also appear in *AN,* I, 14, 6 (vol. 1, p. 26). In Sanskrit their names are spelled Tripusa and Bhallika (*CPS,* II, 5. p. 80). The form Tapassu also appears in the *Udāna-aṭṭhakathā* (p. 54; Chizen Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* [Dictionary of Indian Buddhist proper names; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967], p. 681).

19. According to the *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15, the meeting with Mucalinda occurred after the Buddha had received the offerings of the merchants.

20. The Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (2, 6) says: "The Buddha has not received food for seven days. Go and offer him dumplings [*piṇḍaka*]" (*CPS,* p. 82).

21. According to the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, "It would not be fitting for me to receive food with my hands, like the follower of some other teaching [*tīrthika*]. Let me think about how the buddhas of the past received offerings of food for the merit of ordinary beings" (*CPS,* pp. 84–85).

22. In the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions (*CPS,* p. 88), there is a short sentence not in the Chinese: "The two of us also take refuge in the Saṅgha of the future." This sentence predicting the establishment of the Saṅgha is clearly a later addition; the Pāli version is probably much more reliable.

23. *AN,* I, 14, 6 (vol. 1, pp. 25–26). *Tseng-i a-han-ching* (*T.* 2:559).

24. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 80–81.

25. See Hajime Nakamura, "Genshi Bukkyō seiten seiritsushi kenkyū no kijun ni tsuite" [On criteria for research on the history of the formation of the early Buddhist canon], *Nihon Bukkyō gakkai nempō,* no. 21 (1955): 70–72.

26. *ye keci Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gatāse / na te gamissanti apāyabhūmiṃ //* (*SN,* I, 4, 7, 7 [vol. 1, p. 27, ll. 8–9]).

27. *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:103b–c).

28. *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:786a–b).

29. The legend of Brahmā's encouragement: *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 5, 1–13; *MN,* vol. 1, p. 167; *SN,* vol. 1, p. 136; *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 81, l. 4; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 129–30; *CPS,* pp. 118f., 434f., 442f.; *Lalitavistara,* p. 514; *Buddhacarita,* XV, 79–85; *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:103c–104a); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:786c–87b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fascs. 5–6 (*T.* 24:126b et seq.); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 10 (*T.* 3:602c–5a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:528a–c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:642c–43a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 33 (*T.* 3:805a–7a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:28b–c). The legend of the Buddha's hesitation to preach also appears in the *Mahāvastu;* see Tsūshō Byōdō, "Budda no shoki dendō seikatsu ni okeru sansengenbun ni tsuite: Toku ni *Mahāvastu* ni ryūi shite" (On the three statements in the Buddha's early life of teaching ministry– with special reference to the *Mahāvastu*), *Shūkyō kenkyū,* n.s., 8, no. 2 (1931): 121–32. Minoru Hara points out that a similar legend is found in the *Rāmāyana* (I, 2). Concerning the legend in Buddhism, see Hakuju Ui, "Agon ni arawaretaru Bonten" (Brahmā in the Āgamas), *Indo Tetsugaku Kenkyū* 3 (Reprint; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), 63–202, and Zennō Ishigami, "Sōōbu ugehen ni arawareta Butsuden ni tsuite toku ni jūyō jiken ni gentei shite" (The biography of the Buddha in the "Sagātthavagga" of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Sankō bunka kenkyūjo nempō* 3 (1970): 41–48.

Representations in art: third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. 5; *Nagarj.,* p. 58, pl. VIII); third–fourth century, Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-6); Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 35–36); Borobuḍur (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 119).

30. *CPS,* pp. 108–10.

31. *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:126).

32. *SN,* I, 6, 1, 1: *Āyācanam* (vol. 1, pp. 136–38). *Āyācanam:* "The Entreaty" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 171); "die Bitte" (*Geiger SN,* p. 213). *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 10 (*T.* 2:593a–b), says without stipulating which tree: "At one time the Buddha stayed under a tree."

33. "Having just attained enlightenment": *paṭhamābhisaṃbuddho.* In *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 10 (*T.* 2:593a) this is translated as *te-tao-wei-chiu* (得道未久; "not long after attaining enlightenment"). Synonymous phrases appear in the *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 5, 12 (vol. 1, p. 7); *DN,* xiv, 3, 7 (vol. 2, p. 39); *MN,* no. 26, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 169).

34. "Peaceful": *santo* (= *śānto*). The equivalent section in the *Tseng-i a-han-ching* has *hsiu-hsi* (休息; "rest"). "Beyond reasoning": *atakkāvacaro.* The *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 10 (*T.* 2:593a) has *pu-k'e-ssu-wei* (不可思惟; "unable to ponder").

35. "Given to attachment": *ālaya-rāma.* "Devoting itself to the things to which it clings" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 171); "verharrt bei seinen Neigungen" (*Geiger SN,* p. 213). The meaning, according to Buddhaghosa, is that living beings are addicted

to the objects of the five desires: *sattā pañca-kāma-guṇesu allīyati, tasmā te ālayā ti vuccati* (*Spk.*, p. 195).

36. "That exists because of this": *idappaccayatā.* The term *idappaccaya* means "these various causes" (*imesaṃ paccayā*), and *idappaccayatā* and *paṭiccasamuppāda* are synonomous (*Spk.*, p. 196): "that this is conditioned by that" (*Rhys Davids SN*, pp. 171–72); "diese ursächliche Aufeinanderfolge" (*Geiger SN*, p. 213). A literal translation would be "being dependent on this." "Dependent origination": *paṭiccasamuppāda.* "That all that happens is by way of cause" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 172; "das Gesetz ursächlicher Enstehung" (*Geiger SN*, p. 213).

37. "*Nibbāna*" (= *nirvāṇa*). Geiger interprets it to mean "das Erlöschen." Rhys Davids does not translate it.

38. "Wonderful": *acchariyā. Spk.* has *anacchariyā*, meaning *anu-acchariya* (p. 196). The following verse section is placed at the end in the Tibetan *Vinaya* (p. 115) and the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:126b), after the words "Listen to the Dhamma of the undefiled person." There are slight differences in phrasing in the *Vinaya* text. Verses with the same gist are found elsewhere, for example, *MN*, no. 26, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 167); *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:103c); *Ssu-fen-lü* (*T.* 22:786c).

39. "Should I now teach to others?": *halandāni* (= *ha* + *alaṃ* + *idāni; Spk.*, p. 197); *ha* is undeclinable (*nipāta*). *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 10 (*T.* 2:593b) has *he-hsü-shuo-fa* (何須說法; "How should I teach the Dharma?").

40. "Those who hold fast to greed and hatred": *rāga-dosa-paretehi* (= *rāga-dosa-phuṭṭehi* = *rāgadosānuyatehi; Spk.*, p. 197).

41. "It cannot be seen": *na dakkhinti* (= *na passanti; Spk.*, p. 127).

42. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 136G; *DN*, vol. 2, p. 36G; *MN*, no. 26, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 168G); *Vinaya*, vol. 1, p. 5G.

43. "His heart was inclined to do nothing": *appossukkatāyā ti* (= *nirussukka-bhāvena adesetu-kāmatāyā ti; Spk.*, p. 197).

44. "Defiled people": *samalā.* This refers to teachers of mistaken views (*micchā-diṭṭhi-dhammā; Spk.*, p. 199)

45. "Throw open": *apāpura* (= *vivara; Spk.*, p. 199). "The gateway of deathlessness": *amatassa dvāram* (= *amatassa nibbānassa dvārabhūtaṃ ariyamaggam; Spk.*, p. 199; cf. p. 203). *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 10 (*T.* 2:593b), translates this as *fa-men* (法門; "gate of the Dharma").

46. The Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (*CPS*, p. 114) has "preach the Dhamma that the one free from impurity has attained" (*vadasva dharmaṃ virajānubuddhaṃ*). The Tibetan *Vinaya* has the same (*dri-ma med-pas rtogs-pas bśad-pa mdsod*). The verse in the Pāli version may have been an old form, independently transmitted, that was later included as part of the section on the encouragement of Brahmā as his own words. Therefore the Sanskrit version has corrected the verb form to the imperative, while the Pāli maintains the form before the correction.

47. "Bend your gaze": *Udv.*, XXI, 18.

48. "Arise": This phrase exists only in the *SN*, in the Myanmar manuscript. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 137G; *MN*, no. 26, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 168–69G); *DN*, vol. 2, p. 39G. *Vinaya*, vol. 1, pp. 5–6G. "You who are free from debt": addressing the Buddha in these mercantile terms confirms the hypothesis that merchants played an important role in spreading Buddhism in the society.

49. According to *CPS*, I, 4–7 (pp. 75–76), two *brahmakāyikā devatā* ("semi-gods relating to Brahmā") narrated this. In the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:125a) two heavenly beings related it. The verse form here is older; the prose explanation was added by later commentators. The equivalent passage in the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih* is translated as *ch'i-ch'i ta-tz'u-pei yüan-tsei t'uei-san* (起起大慈悲怨賊退散; "Arise, arise, great compassion; now rout the fearful bandits"). It is not clear if "great compassion" was added by the translator or if it was in the original version. It seems that Sarvāstivādin writings stress compassion more than those of Southern Buddhism.

50. "Entreaty": *ajjhesanaṃ* (=*yācanaṃ*; *Spk.*, p. 200). "The entreaty" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 173); "die Aufforderung" (*Geiger SN*, p. 216). "Full of compassion for all living beings": *sattesu ca kāruññataṃ paṭicca.* "Because of his pitifulness toward all souls" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 173); "in seiner Barmherzigkeit gegenüber den Wesen" (*Geiger SN*, p. 216); *tz'u-min-i-ch'ieh chung-sheng-ku* (慈愍一切衆生故; "because of compassion for all living beings"; *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 10 [*T.* 2:593b]).

51. "Beautiful in form": *svākāre.* According to Buddhaghosa, *yesaṃ te eva saddhādayo ākārā sundarā, te svākārā* (*Spk.*, p. 200). The word implies beautiful in spiritual form, not physical form, that is, someone of good disposition and character. "Ugly in form": *dvākāre.* This refers to a person of poor disposition and character.

52. "Ambrosia": *amṛta.* This drink of immortality is mentioned in the *Ṛg Veda.* "n. der Unsterblichkeitstrank, *ambrosia*, häufig auf die ins Feuer gegossene Opferbutter(havis), oder auf der Somatrank bezogen, mit den Beiwörtern *cāru, mādhu* (H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch Zum Rig-Veda* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976], col. 94. Here it refers to *nibbāna* (*Pj.*, p. 185).

53. "Let [them] abandon their [other] faiths": the original of this verse is *apārutā tesaṃ amatassa dvārā ye sotavanto pamuccantu saddhaṃ / vihiṃsasaññī paguṇaṃ na bhāsiṃ dhammaṃ paṇītaṃ manujesu brahma //* (*SN*, vol. 1, p. 138). *Vinaya*, I, 5, 12 (vol. 1, p. 7), has an almost identical text. According to Buddhaghosa, *sabbe attano saddhaṃ pamuñcantu, vissajjantu* (*Spk.*, p. 203). This seems to be telling people to shed their faith in the other religions of the time, but the Chinese translation (or its base text, probably later than the Pāli version) says the exact opposite: *wen-che-te-tu-hsin* (聞者得篤信; "those who hear will attain devout faith"; *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 10 [*T.* 2:593b]). Perhaps in later times, when the authority of the Buddhist organization had been established, it was necessary to emphasize faith. Comparison with Sanskrit texts also indicates such a change (Fumio Enomoto, "Higashi Torukisutan shutsudo bonbun agon no keifu" [The affiliation of the Central Asian

sūtra fragments], *Kachō Tanki Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 29 [December 1984]: 17–18).

The old Sanskrit text *Mahāvastu* has the expression "abandon other faiths": *apāvṛtaṃ me amṛtasya dvāraṃ brahmeti bhagavantaṃ ye śrotukāmā śraddhāṃ pramuṃcantu viheṭhasaṃjñāṃ / viheṭhasaṃjño praguṇo abhūṣi dharmo aśuddho magadheṣu pūrvaṃ //* (*Mahāvastu*, vol. 3, p. 319). In later texts, however, this is changed to "those with faith should rejoice": *dvāraṃ ye śrotukā[māḥ]pram[od]aṃtu śraddhāḥ/vi[he-]. . . . //* (*Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, MS cat. no. 400); *avāvariṣye amṛtasya dvāraṃ ye śrotukāmā pramodantu śrāddhāḥ / vihiṭhaprekṣe pracura na bhāṣe dharmaṃ praṇītaṃ manujeṣu brahman //* (*Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, MS cat. no. 584); *apāvariṣye amṛtasya dvāraṃ ye śrotukāmāḥ praṇudantu kāṅkṣāḥ / viheṭhaprekṣī pracuraṃ ne bhāṣe dharmaṃ praṇītaṃ manujeṣu brahman //* (Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1 [Rome: IsMEO, 1977; *SOR*, XLIX, 1, 2], 130); *apāvṛtās teṣam amṛtasya dvārā brahman ti satataṃ ye śrotuvantaḥ / praviśanti śraddhā na viheṭhasaṃjñāḥ śṛṇvanti dharmaṃ magadheṣu sattvāḥ //* (Salomon Lefmann, ed., *Lalitavistara: Leben und Lehre des Çâkya-Buddha*, vol. 1 (Halle a S.: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1902], p. 400); "I now open the ambrosial gateway, that those with faith gain joy; I am teaching the wonderful Law among people. It is to prevent others from tormenting themselves. Therefore, I am preaching" (*Ta-chih-tu-lun*, fasc. 1 [*T.* 25:63b]). There is no doubt that the interpretation of the *SN* phrase as meaning "abandon other faiths" reflects the ideas of early Buddhism.

Regarding the meaning of *pamuñcassu saddhaṃ*, some scholars hold that it means "arouse faith." This argument is based on the Pāli commentaries and the interpretation seen in Chinese translations. It is difficult, however, to agree with this interpretation. First, *pramuñcati* as it appears in Sanskrit literature has meant "abandon" since the time of the *Ṛg Veda*. In slightly later texts it means "loosen" or "free," and in the passive (*pramucyate*) it means "to disappear." The dictionaries of Böhtlingk and Roth, Williams, and Apte are all in agreement here. Second, "arouse faith" is a concept of later Buddhism. Neither *pamuñcassu saddhaṃ* nor its Sanskrit equivalent *pramuñcasva śraddhāṃ* appears in general Buddhist texts or in general Sanskrit texts. It is a strange expression. Third, when Brahmā spoke thus to Gotama, it was before the Buddha's first discourse; Buddhism itself had not been established. "Abandon other faiths" therefore fits the context far better. Fourth, later doctrinal scholars had no historical awareness. Puzzled by the expression, they made a strained interpretation. Fifth, even today we find writers attempting to make the text coherent. A number of Japanese translations by leading Buddhist scholars depart from the original text. For these reasons I support the literal translation of Hakuju Ui and others.

54. "Exquisite": *paguṇa* (= *suppavatti; Spk.*, p. 203). "Sublime" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 174). *Paguṇa* also includes the meaning of "well-acquainted": "die mir vertraute [Wahrheit]" (*Geiger SN*, p. 217). "Excellent": *paṇīta*. "Excellent" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 174); "erhaben" (*Geiger SN*, p. 217). "Truth": The Chinese equivalent has *shen-fa-yao* (深法要; "essence of profound truth").

55. "Vanished from that place": The first part of the passage shows the

Buddha's hesitation to teach; the second part shows his resolution to do so. A similar text appears in *DN,* no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-sutta* (vol. 2, pp. 35–39), as applied to Vipassin Buddha and somewhat expanded. See *Ta-pen-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 1 [*T.* 1:1b–10c]).

56. *Therag.,* 1257.

57. *Therag.,* 1258.

58. *SN,* I, 4, 3, 4. See p. 221.

59. MPS, III, 34 (*DN,* vol. 2, p. 112–13).

60. "Holding in reverence": *gārava* (= Skt., *gaurava*). "Holding in reverence" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 174); "Verehrung" (*Geiger SN,* p. 217). *SN,* I, 6, 1, 2; *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 44 (1188) (*T.* 2:321c–22a). Cf. *AN,* vol. 2, pp. 20–21.

61. "He had just attained enlightenment": *paṭhamābhisambuddho.* "Just he had become fully enlightened" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 174); "Eben erst zur vollkommenen Erleuchtung gelangt" (*Geiger SN,* p. 217); "Not long had passed since he attained enlightenment" (*Tsa a-han-ching* [*T.* 2:321c]). According to Buddhaghosa, this occurred during the fifth week (*pañcame sattāhe*) after the enlightenment (*Spk.,* p. 203).

62. *SN,* VI, 1, 2 (vol. 1, pp. 138–40).

63. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 81.

64. Cf. Yājñavalkya (*Bṛhad. Up.,* IV, 3, 33); Satyakāma (*Chānd. Up.,* IV, 10); Raikva (*Chānd. Up.,* IV, 2, 3); Prajāpati (*Chānd. Up.,* VIII, 7f.); Yama (*Kaṭh. Up.,* I, 21f.).

65. *MN,* no. 26, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 169f.). See also *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 1 (vol. 1, p. 7f.); *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:777a); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:787); *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:104).

66. See pp. 126–40 of this book.

67. "Knowledge and insight": The *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," gives only "knowledge" (*ñāṇa*). "The previous night": *abhidosakālaṃkata.* The *Wu-fen-lü* says "last night"; the *Ssu-fen-lü* says "yesterday."

68. The Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (*CPS,* p. 126) has *(pañcakā) (bhikṣa)vo bārāṇasyāṃ viharanty ṛṣivadane mṛ(gadāpe)* / and the Tibetan text has *lṅa-sdeḥi dge-sloṅ-rnams bā-ra-na-se-na draṅ-sroṅ smra-la ri-dags kyi nags-na ḥkhod-pa gzigs-so* /, which says: "that dwelt in the deer forest, the conversation of *rishis.*" Waldschmidt reports the frequent occurrence of *mṛgadāpa.* The *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 6, has "and he saw that the five men were at Vārāṇaṣī, in the deer grove, the place of *ṛṣis* [*ṛṣipatana*]" (*T.* 24:127a).

69. The Pāli *Vinaya,* vol. 1, pp. 7–8, has the same text except for "the Blessed One" (*bhagavā*) instead of "I." See also *Chung a-han-ching* (204): *Lo-mo-ching.*

70. According to a later biography of the Buddha (*Mahāvastu,* vol. 3, pp. 325–28), the Buddha went from Uruvelā to Gayā, and then via Aparagayā, Sudarśana, Vaśāla, Cunda-dvīpa, Sāraṭṭhi-pura, and Lohitavastuka to Deer Park, having crossed the Ganges.

71. Nothing is known about the Ājīvika Upaka. The name Upaka appears

elsewhere in the Buddhist scriptures as one of a group of seven *bhikkhus;* he is said to have gone to the heavenly realm after death, but whether he is the same person as the Ājīvika Upaka is unknown (*SN,* I, 1, 5, 10 (vol. 1, p. 35G); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 22 [*T.* 2:159b]; *Pieh-i Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 9 [*T.* 2:442c]). The legend of the meeting with Upaka: *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 5–9; *MN,* vol. 1, p. 169; *CPS,* pp. 126–32, 443 (appears as Upaga); Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, 131–32 (appears as Upagu); *Lalitavistara,* p. 525; *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:787b et seq.); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:127a), translates Upagu as Chin-chin (親近); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 11 (*T.* 3:605b–6a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:643a–c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 33 (*T.* 3:807c–8c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:28c–29a).

There are relatively few artistic representations of the legend, perhaps because it was not a subject that appealed to people. A rare example is an eighth-century representation from Borobuḍur (*WOB,* pl. III-7; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 121).

72. *SN,* I, 2, 3, 10, 4 (vol. 1, p. 66G).

73. According to the Hindu scripture Purana, a great *kalpa* (*mahākalpa*) is 311,040,000,000,000 years in length (F. O. Schrader, *Über den Stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas,* 35.)

74. *DN,* II, 20–21 (vol. 1, pp. 53–54).

75. "Upaka": The Sanskrit text (p. 126) gives "Upaga." This is identical in form to the name in the Tibetan text, *Ñer-ḥgro.*

76. The Pāli *Vinaya,* vol. 1, p. 8, has the same text except for "the Blessed One" (*bhagavā*) instead of "I." See also *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:787); *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:104); *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:777).

77. *MN,* vol. 1, pp. 170–71.

78. The *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 23 (*T.* 2:167b), says: "At that place, when the Tathāgata was going to Vārāṇasī, an Ājīvika asked him a question."

79. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 81.

80. *Pj.,* pp. 258–60. Chizen Akanuma, *Shakuson* (Śākyamuni; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1934), 236.

81. *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching* (a version of the *Lalitavistara*), fasc. 11 (*T.* 3:606a).

82. "People are many, but few reach the other shore [of enlightenment]. Most wander up and down on this shore [of delusion]" (*Dhp.,* 85).

83. See note 81. Representations of the crossing of the Ganges in art: "Using supernatural powers to cross the Ganges:" first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (Osamu Takata and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* [Art of India], vol. 2 [Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 295; Baici Hemmi, *Koten Indo Mon'yō* [Classical Indian patterns; Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1976], pl. 9); first century B.C.E., Gayā (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu,* vol. 2, pl. 290); second century C.E., Amarāvatī (*ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 94); 600–650, Qïzïl, cave wall painting (*West Berlin,* pl. 26).

84. *Manu-smṛti,* VIII, 407.

85. "My own view is that the *Vinaya* reveals that tolls were taken at tunnels, ferries, and the entrances to villages and that a fee of five *māsakas* or more was levied on those wishing to pass. The *Manu-smṛti* stipulates that people of religion and others did not have to pay such tolls. Verse 85 of the *Dhammapada* reveals how difficult it was at the time to cross the Ganges. The episode of the Buddha's crossing the Ganges must have been composed at a time when laws and regulations had become codified and there was an advanced money economy" (Yūshō Miyasaka, *Kōyasan Daigaku gakuhō* 2 [July 1959]: 3).

86. *dhammacakka-pavattana* (*DN,* vol. 2, p. 52). Concerning the first discourse, see Benkyō Shiio, *Bukkyō kyōten gaisetsu* (Outline of Buddhist scriptures; Tokyo: Kōshisha Shobō, 1933), 491 et seq. The discourse to the five *bhikkhus* bears some similarities to the *Bhag. G.* (8:11) and the *Kāṭh. Up.* (2:15; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *MCB* [Louvain: Marcel Istas, 1932], vol. 1, p. 377). On the basis of this discourse, some scholars believe that Buddhism emerged from Brahmanism. See Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyō no shisō I* (The philosophy of early Buddhism, vol. 1), vol. 15 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1993).

87. There is still a place called Deer Park on the outskirts of Varanasi. It consists of a rolling expanse of grass, where deer may once have grazed. A temple has been built there by the Mahābodhi Society, with a mural of the Buddha's life by the Japanese artist Kōsetsu Nousu. There was also a *migadāya* at Kaṇṇakatthala, Ujuññā, and Gotama stayed there as well (*DN,* no. 8, *Kassapa-sīhanāda-suttanta* [vol. 1, p. 161]). The *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 16: *Luo-hsing fan-chih-ching* [*T.* 1:102c], has *lu-yeh-lin* (鹿野林; "deer grove"). (The *dāya* of *migadāya* means "wood, jungle, forest, grove.")

88. The first discourse (the legend of the conversion of the five *bhikkhus*): *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 10; *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 81, l. 25; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 133–39; *CPS,* pp. 132–71, 444–51; Rajendralal Mitra, ed., *Lalita Vistara, or, Memoirs of the early life of Śākya Siṅha,* Bibliotheca Indica 15 (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1853–77), p. 540; Lefmann, *Lalitavistara,* vol. 1, p. 420; *Mahāvastu,* vol. 3, p. 331, l. 17; *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 2:7c–8a); *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22: 104b–5a); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:787c–89b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 24: 127b–28c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 11 (*T.* 3:606b–11b); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:530b–c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 34 (*T.* 3:810c–14b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:644a–45a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:29b–30b).

Representations in art: Deer Park (*WOB,* p. 124, pl. 3; Hajime Nakamura and Takashi Koezuka, *Ganjisu no seichi* [Sacred places along the Ganges River], vol. 6 of *Sekai no seiiki* [Sanctuaries of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979], pl. 36, 37); Dhāmekh Stupa (Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Indo no busseki to Hindū jiin* [Buddhist sites of India and Hindu temples], vol. 5 of *Sekai no bunka shiseki* [Historical sites of culture in the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], no. 59; *Archaeological Remains,*

pl. XX); Meeting with the five *bhikkhus*, second fourth century, Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB*, pl. 8); five *bhikkhus* portrayed with unkempt hair, Borobuḍur (*ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 486; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 125); first century, Sāñcī, Stupa 1, west gateway, front face (Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, and Ryōjun Satō, ed., *Budda no sekai* [The world of the Buddha; Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980], pl. 0-6; Taijun Inokuchi, Seizan Yanagida, and Chikusa Masaaki, ed., *Zusetsu Nihon Bukkyō no genzō* [Original images of Japanese Buddhism in illustrations; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982], frontispiece 2; *WOB*, pl. III-9); Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 37, 38); Ahicchatra (N. P. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures* [Mathurā: Archaeological Museum, 1966], pl. 52); fifth century, Sārnāth, Archaeological Museum, Sārnāth (*WOB*, pl. III-10; *Indo, Nishi Ajia* [India and West Asia], vol. 13 of *Genshoku sekai no bijutsu* [Art of the world in full color; Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1970], l. 54; Sōtarō Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō* [Stone sculptures of ancient India; Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1970], pls. 46, 47); Indian Museum, Calcutta (Tetsujirō Inoue and Kentoku Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden* (Biography of Śākyamuni, enlarged edition; Tokyo: Maekawa Bun'eikaku, 1911), pp. 150–74; K. S. Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in South India and Early Andhra History* [New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1981], p. 7; Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen*, pl. 100); Borobuḍur (*ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 486c; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, pp. 125–26).

89. Quotations from the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* in this section are from *MN*, no. 26, vol. 1, pp. 171f. See also *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 10–11 (vol. 1, pp. 8–9); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:787–89); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:104–5).

90. Cf. Colette Caillat, "Isipatana Migadāya," *JA* (1968): 177–83.

91. The rest of the sentence is a little different in the "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 11.

92. A relief showing the reunion with one *bhikkhu* (Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum [Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 45]) shows Gotama on the right, the five *bhikkhus* on the left, and two flying heavenly beings at the top. The three *bhikkhus* in the front hold a fan, a water flask to wash Gotama's feet, and a fly whisk.

93. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 81–82.

94. *mahākulappasūto kho pan' esa āsanābhihāram arahati, ten' assa asanamattam paññāpessāma.*

95. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82.

96. This section does not appear in the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, or the Tibetan version. It appears to be a later addition.

97. See Hajime Nakamura, "Genshi Bukkyō seiten seiritsushi kenkyū no kijun ni tsuite," p. 58 et seq.

98. *Sn.*, p. 21 (I.7) and p. 13 (I.4).

99. *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:789a).

100. For example, "The Buddha was staying at Deer Park, the gathering place of *ṛṣis*, Vārāṇasī. When it was time for the World-honored One to eat, he put on his robe and took up his bowl and went into the city to seek alms. When

he had enough, then the *bhikṣus* went to seek alms" (*P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih,* fasc. 35 [*T.* 24:380c]).

101. *CPS,* 11.17 (p. 142).

102. *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 1, 6, 16 (vol. 1, p. 10).

103. *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 35 (vol. 1, p. 13). The *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* is virtually the same.

104. *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 34 (*T.* 3:812c).

105. *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (*T.* 1:778a). *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 14 (*T.* 2:619b) has virtually the same text.

106. *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:789a).

107. *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 14 (*T.* 2:619b).

108. *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:645a).

109. *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:105a).

110. *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (*T.* 1:777c).

111. *SN,* XXII, 59 (vol. 3, p. 66).

112. *SN,* LVI, 11 (vol. 5, p. 420f.). See also *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 7–8.

113. *SN,* XXXV, 114. See also *Mārapāsa,* 1, 2 (vol. 4, pp. 91–93); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 9 (244) (*T.* 2:8c).

114. *SN,* XXXV, 117: *Lokakāmaguṇa* (vol. 4, pp. 97–101); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 8 (211) (*T.* 2:53a–c).

115. *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 2:104b).

116. *SN,* LVI, 24 (vol. 5, p. 433). Only two Burmese texts mention that this was taught at Sāvatthī, so that may be a later addition. The *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 2:107c), has "at Deer Park, the gathering place of *ṛṣis,* Vārāṇasī."

117. A fragment of the parasol of a stupa at Sārnāth (second–third century) is inscribed with the teachings of the Four Noble Truths in Pāli (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* pl. 0–8).

118. *SN,* LVI, 11 (vol. 5, pp. 420–24); *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 17f. (vol. 1, p. 10f.). In Chinese translation: *Fo-shou chuan-fa-lun-ching* (*T.* 2:503b–c); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 15 (379) (*T.* 2:103c–4a); *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56: *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:777b–78c); *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 14 (*T.* 2:618c–19b); *San-chuan-fa-lun-ching* (*T.* 2:504a–b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 33–34 (*T.* 3:807b–14c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 10–12 (*T.* 3:605b–16a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:528a–30c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:644a–45a); *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:104b–5b); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:787c–89b), etc.

119. Kyōsui Oka, "Bongo no Agongyō to kan'yaku gempon no kōsatsu" (Study of the Sanskrit Āgamas and the original texts of the Chinese translations), *Tetsugaku zasshi* 42, no. 482 (April 1927): 334–40. The closest version in Chinese translation is An Shih-kao's *Fo-shou chuan-fa-lun-ching* (*T.* 2:503).

120. The Sanskrit text has "*madhyamayaiva pratipadā tathāgato dharmmaṃ deśayati*" ("The Tathāgata spoke of the Dharma according to the Middle Way").

121. This section is missing in the "Mahāvagga."

122. The section between single and double asterisks is identical to *SN*, LVI, 12, except that in place of "within me" the latter has "to all the tathāgatas" (*tathāgatānaṃ*).

123. The Sanskrit has "*jīrṇā me jātir ūsitaṃ brahmacaryaṃ kṛtaṃ karuṇīyaṃ / nāparam asmād bhavaṃ prajānāmi.*" The text has been considerably distorted.

124. The following section of this sutra is missing in the Sanskrit.

125. Other versions say "the *yakṣas* of the earth." *bhaumā yakṣā(ḥ), sa-blaḥi gnod-sbyin mams* (pp. 154–55). The *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih* also says *yao-ch'a* (藥叉; *yakṣa*), fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:128a).

126. See Shōson Miyamoto, "Budda saisho seppō ni tsuite" (On the Buddha's first sermon), in *Bukkyōgaku no shomondai*, ed. Buttan Nisengohyakunen Kinen Gakkai (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1935), 325–44. See also Miyamoto, "The Buddha's First Sermon and the Original Patterns of the Middle Way," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 13, no. 2 (March 1965): 845–55. Concerning the *Sutra of the Turning of the Wheel of the Dhamma*, see Kōgen Mizuno, "Tempōrinkyō ni tsuite" (On the Sutra of the Turning of the Wheel of the Dhamma), *Bukkyō kenkyū*, no. 1 (December 1970): 114–92.

127. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 32f. (vol. 1, pp. 12–13).

128. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82.

129. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82.

130. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 36–37 (vol. 1, p. 13).

131. *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:786c et seq.); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:104b et seq.); *CPS*, p. 162 f.; Tibetan *Vinaya* (*CPS*, p. 163 f.).

132. *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56 (204) (*T.* 1:777b et seq.).

133. *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 15. *San-chuan-fa-lun-ching* was translated by I-ching (*T.* 2:504).

134. *Fo-shou chuan-fa-lun-ching* (*T.* 2:503).

135. Cf. *SN*, vol. 5, p. 421.

136. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 38f. (vol. 1, p. 13ff.) and *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, XXII, 59 (vol. 3, pp. 66–68). Equivalent texts also can be found in Chinese translation: *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 2 (34) (*T.* 2:7c–8a); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:105a); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:789a); *Wu-yün chieh-k'ung-ching* (*T.* 2:499c).

137. *CPS*, pp. 170–71. The *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:129b), says: "At this time there were seven *arahants* in the world. The Buddha was the first." This may have resulted from a reluctance to include the Buddha in the traditional formula of "six *arahants*."

138. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82.

139. *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching* (*T.* 3:607b–8c).

140. *esa so bhagavā buddho esa sīho anuttaro / sadevakassa lokassa brahmacakkaṃ pavattayi //* (*Itiv.*, 122 G.; *AN*, vol. 1, p. 24 G).

141. *Śvet. Up.*, I, 6; VI, 1. There is no doubt that the *Śvetasvatara Upaniṣad*, although composed after the rise of Buddhism, preserves older forms both in

content and terminology. It is probably older than the Pāli scriptures extant today.

142. *cakkānuvattaka; Therag.*, 1014.

143. *dhammacakkapavattana; SN*, vol. 5, p. 420, and elsewhere.

144. The first sutra (*SN*, I, 4, 1, 4) is said to have been spoken during the rainy-season retreat (*vassa*), and the second (*SN*, I, 4, 1, 5) after the confessional ceremony (*pavāraṇā*) at the end of the retreat (*Spk.*, p. 171).

145. "Venerable One": *bhadante.* This word is difficult to translate. "Yes, lord" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 131; "Ja, Herr" (*Geiger SN*, p. 163).

146. "Perfected attention": *yoniso manasikāra.* "Systematic thought" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 131); "reifliche Erwägung" (*Geiger SN*, p. 163). Chinese Buddhists tended to translate this phrase as 正思惟 (*cheng-ssu-wei;* "right thought"), but "right" tends to suggests something 不正 (*pu-cheng;* "not right") or 邪 (*hsieh;* "heretical"). Since *yoni* means 母胎 (*mu-t'ai;* "womb") or 根源 (*ken-yüan;* "source") *yoniso manasikāra* is "attention from the source." While in Western and Confucian thought "right" is opposed to "not right" or "heretical," it seems to be used in Chinese translations of Buddhist texts to mean "complete" or "perfect." In that sense, Rhys Davids's translation, "systematic," is certainly not wrong. In that it is something that appears from the source and is manifested, Geiger's "reiflich" is also correct. "Perfected effort": *yoniso sammappadhāna.* "Systematic right effort" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 131); "reifliche ernste Anstrengung" (*Geiger SN*, p. 163).

147. "*Samaṇa,* you have not yet won your freedom from me": *na me samaṇa mokkhasi.* Here, *me* is the *genitivus ethicus,* the form of the genitive used when the speaker and listener are felt to be included in a single ethos. "(Māra spricht zu Buddha:) Nicht wirst du mir, Asket, Erlösung erlangen" (Oskar von Hinüber, *Studien zur Kasussyntax des Pāli, besonders des Vinaya-piṭaka* [Munich: L. Kitzinger, 1968], section 244, p. 246).

148. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 4, 1–5 (vol. 1, p. 105). *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 39 (1095) (*T.* 2:288a).

149. Where *ṛṣis* gather: Isipatana; *hsien-jen-chu-ch'u* (仙人住処; "place where hermits dwell"; *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 39 [*T.* 2:288a–b]). *Patana* means "gathering place." This word is still used in India with the same meaning. For example, in Sanskrit and Hindi "airport" is *vimāna patana,* "a place where planes gather." There are cases where, in Chinese translation, Isipatana was mistranslated as *hsien-jen-tuo-ch'u* (仙人随処; "place where hermits fall"; e.g., *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 11 [*T.* 3:606c]; *Ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun,* fasc. 83 [*T.* 27:429c]). It was also translated correctly: *hsien-jen-chu-suo* (仙人住所; *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 [*T.* 3:643b]); *hsien-jen-chu-ch'u* (仙人住処; *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 39 [*T.* 2:288a]). The meaning of "gather" is retained in the expression *hsien-che-fei-chü* (賢者飛鳥衆; "where hermits gather as if flying"; *Yüeh-nan-ching* [*T.* 14:820b]). The mistakes resulted from lack of understanding of the nuances of the Sanskrit.

150. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 5, 1–2 (vol. 1, p. 105).

151. "Go forth": *cārikā.* This means "to walk out in order" (*anupubba-gamanacārikā*). *divasaṃ yojana-paramaṃ gacchantā carathā ti vadati* (*Spk.*, pp. 171–72).

152. "Let not two of you take the same road": *mā ekena dve agamettha.* This sentence can be translated in a number of ways. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris gives *agamattha,* while the *Vinaya* ("Mahāvagga," I, 11) has *agamittha.* The meaning is not at all clear. "Let not two take the same course" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 132); "geht nicht zu zweien auf gleichem Wege" (*Geiger SN,* p. 165). Buddhist scholars usually interpret it as meaning that since it is critically important to spread the teachings, if two people travel the same road, the spread will be limited to that extent. Therefore teachers should take separate roads. A second interpretation is that if two people take the same road, there will be talking and differences of opinion and noise. Therefore, teachers should go alone; that way there will be no trouble. I think the second interpretation is correct, and Buddhaghosa also took this view. Rhys Davids comments (p. 132): "Lit., 'not two by one.' Buddhaghosa explains this elliptical phrase as *ekamaggena dve janā mā agamattha, evaṃ hi gatesu ekasmiṃ dhammaṃ desente, ekena tuṇhībhūtena ṭhātabbaṃ hoti* (*Spk.*, p. 172): 'Let not two persons adopt the same procedure, thus, in their goings, one teaching while the other keeps silent is to be instituted' reminding us of the first mission of SS Paul and Barnabas." The revised edition of 1977 (p. 172) has *ekena tuṇhībhūtena na ṭhātabbaṃ hoti* ("if in this way you go [together], when one teaches [the other] one must remain silent"). The *Tsa a-han-ching* says: *Pu-hsü-pan-hsing, i-i-erh-ch'ü* (不須伴行、一一而去), "You should not go together but depart one by one," and *Ju-teng-ke-pieh-jen-hsien-chiao-hua* (汝等各別人間教化), "You should all teach people separately." These are clearly admonitions about teaching activities. Early Buddhism held that two people should not chat together, but should remain tranquil in mind and so cause others to feel some kind of yearning, and in this way teach them. The two interpretations are not mutually exclusive. This is a telling instance of the differences between Buddhist-style proselytization and that of Western Asia and Europe.

153. "Good": *kalyāṇa.* "Beneficent" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 132; "schön" (*Geiger SN,* p. 165).

154. "Practice of purity": *brahmacariya.* In Brahmanism this refers to the life of the student of the *Vedas,* which enjoins celibacy. Buddhaghosa interprets it as the teaching of practicing the three teachings (*sikkhā-ttaya-saṅgahaṃ sāsana-brahmacariyaṃ; Spk.,* p. 172).

155. "Left behind": *parihāyanti.* Literally, "completely eliminated." This phrase, from the Vedic period, is used in the sense of "be delayed."

156. "The army's village": Senānigāma. "The township of Senā" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 132; "der Marktflecken Senā" (*Geiger SN,* p. 165). The commentators are not clear as to why this should have been "the army's village." One explanation is that at one time an army had camped here and a village was later built on the

site (*paṭhamakappikānaṃ senāya niviṭṭh' okāse patiṭṭhita-gāmo; Spk.*, p. 172). Other Pāli commentators consider it to be a village called Senā and call it "Senāninigamo." One example of the second interpretation is "the village of the maiden Sujāta's father was called Senā" (*Sujātāya vā pitu Senāni nāma nigamo; Spk.*, p. 172). The *Nidānakathā* interprets it in virtually the same way and says that Sujāta was a general's daughter (*Senāninigame Senānikuṭimbikassa gehe nibbattā Sujātā nāma dārikā*; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 68). Here I have translated it according to the text of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*.

157. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 5, 2–5 (vol. 1, pp. 105 6). *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (1096) (*T.* 2:288a).

158. The dragon Elāpattra: 翳羅鉢竜 (I-luo-po-lung) in Chinese. *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 21 (*T.* 24:301c–7a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 37–38 (*T.* 3:824a–33b), etc.

159. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:864a). See also James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (New York: Paragon Reprint Corp., 1964), pp. 93–94.

160. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 7. See Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 45–46.

161. *Ta-T'ang Ta-tz'u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih-chuan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 50:235b–c).

162. Nakamura, *Indo no busseki*, no. 59.

163. Shinjō Mizutani, trans. into Japanese, *Daitō saiikiki* (Records of the western regions), vol. 22 of *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* (Collection of Chinese classical literature; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), p. 218.

164. For details on the execution of the murals, see Hajime Nakamura et al., *Nousu Kōsetsu: Butsuga no sekai* (Kōsetsu Nousu: The world of Buddhist paintings; Nagano: Shinano Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1987).

165. An attempt has been made to indicate all the places where Gotama spent the rainy-season retreat during the forty-five years following his enlightenment. See Shinkō Mochizuki, "Budda jōdō shijūgonenkan ni okeru ango no chiten" [The places of *vassa* during the forty-five years of the Buddha's enlightenment], *Bukkyō kenkyū* 1, no. 2 (July-August 1937): 1–10.

166. *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü*, fasc. 23 (*T.* 22:412b).

167. *Shih-sung-lü*, fasc. 21 (*T.* 23:148a).

168. For details, see Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, p. 519.

169. Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, pp. 87–88.

170. Channa's name is transliterated as 闡陀 (Ch'an-t'uo), 闡那 (Ch'an-na), or 車匿 (Ch'e-ni). Gotama's charioteer at the time of his renunciation, Channa was one of the group of six *bhikkhus* that violated many of the precepts. See Ryūsen Nishimoto, trans., vol. 8 of the Vinaya section, *Kokuyaku issaikyō* (The Tripiṭaka in Japanese translation; Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1930), note 147, p. 196.

171. *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü*, fasc. 23 (*T.* 22: 412c).

172. *Wu-fen-lü*, fascs. 15–16 (*T.* 22:101a–110c). *Ssu-fen-lü*, fascs. 31–33 (*T.* 22:779a–799b).

173. Bimbisāra is abbreviated as 毘沙 (P'i-sha; Skt., [Bim]bisā[ra]) in the text. See Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten,* p. 99). The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* also says that Gotama stayed in a grove in Magadha.

174. *Pa-ta-ling-t'a ming-hao-ching* (*T.* 32:773b). See Hajime Nakamura, "The Aṣṭamahāsthānacaitya-stotra and the Chinese and Tibetan Versions of a Text Similar to It," in *Indianisme et Bouddhisme: Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut orientaliste, 1982), 259–65.

175. *Seng-ch'ieh-lo-ch'a so-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 4:144b).

176. E. Obermiller, trans., *History of Buddhism (Chos-ḥbyung) by Bu-ston,* part. 2, *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* (Leipzig: In kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, 1932), 70.

177. See Paul Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese* (Rangoon: American Mission Press, 1866), vol. 1, p. 169–vol. 2, p. 8.

178. For Rājagaha (Rājagṛha), see pp. 117–20, this volume. For the significance of Sāvatthī (Śrāvastī) in the spread of Buddhism, see pp. 344–59, this volume. For Vesālī (Vaiśālī), see vol. 2 of this book.

179. H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1896), p. 38.

180. The original Chinese gives Chü-yeh-ni-kuo (拘耶尼国), but the second character may be *hsieh* (邪).

181. *Fo-shou shih-erh-yu-ching* (*T.* 4:146a–47b).

182. The correct Sanskrit form is Yaśas, but the corrupted form Yaśa is often seen. It was transliterated into Chinese as 耶舍 (Yeh-she).

183. *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 7, 1–8, 4 (vol. 1, pp. 15–18); *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:105a–b); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:789b–790a); *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 82); *Nanden Daizōkyō* (The Southern Tripiṭaka), vol. 28, (Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1935), p. 175.

184. The legend of Yasa: *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 7–8; *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 82, l. 18; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 139–46; *CPS,* pp. 172–85, 400–402, 451–54. Representations in art: "The conversion of Yasa," wall painting, cave 10, Ajantā (*WOB,* pl. III-12). There is, however, dispute over whether this figure can be identified with Yasa.

185. *sāmukkaṃsikā dhammadesanā* (*Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 7, 6 [vol. 1, p. 16]). Vinayasamukkasse (Bhabra edict).

186. *Sn.*, pp. 15, 86, 123, and elsewhere. Hajime Nakamura, trans. into Japanese, *Budda no kotoba* (The words of the Buddha; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984), pp. 25–26, 99, 141–42.

187. *sekhena ñāṇena dassanena* (Pāli); *aśaikṣeṇa jñānenāśaikṣeṇa darśanena* (Skt.).

188. *Therag.*, no. 117.

189. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 82.

190. The Sanskrit text (*Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*) has *muditacitta* ("joyful mind").

191. See p. 142 et seq., this volume.

192. The legend of Yasa's four friends: *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 9; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82, l. 22; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 146–48; *CPS*, pp. 186–213, 454–57; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:104b–107b); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:790c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:130a–b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:645c–46a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 36 (*T.* 3:819b–20b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:31a–b).

193. In the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (*CPS*, p. 202): Pūrṇo Vimalo Gavāṃpatiḥ Subāhuḥ.

194. According to the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, the Chinese translation, and the Tibetan translation (p. 204), the four were not taken by Yasa but went to the Buddha on their own.

195. The legend of the sixty-one *arahats: Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 10; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82, l. 15; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 149; *CPS*, p. 212; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:107a); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:790c–91a); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:130a–b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:646a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:31a–b).

196. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82, ll. 22–26.

197. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 11, 1–2 (vol. 1, pp. 20–21). *SN*, I, 4, 1, 5 (vol. 1, pp. 105–6); *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (*T.* 2:288a–b).

198. *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:793a).

199. *SN*, I, 4, 2, 4 (vol. 1, p. 111).

200. *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (1097) (*T.* 2:288a–b).

201. *SN*, I, 4, 2, 2: "Sīho" (vol. 1, pp. 109–10). *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (*T.* 2:289–90).

202. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 12, 1–4 (vol. 1, pp. 21–22).

203. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 4–5 (vol. 1, pp. 105–6); *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (16) (*T.* 2:288).

204. The following is based on the tale as it appears in the *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:793a–b) and the *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:107a–b).

205. The legend of the thirty friends in the grove: *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 14; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82, l. 26; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 149–51; *CPS*, pp. 222–29; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 3, pp. 375–76; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:107a–b); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:793a–b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:130b–c). The *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (pp. 222–23) and the Tibetan and Chinese equivalents have sixty instead of thirty friends.

206. The Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (*CPS*, p. 222) and the Tibetan text have "While they were making merry, enjoying themselves, and moving around in play, a woman [*strī*] betrayed her trust and fled."

207. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82, ll. 26–30.

208. The conversion of the Kassapa brothers: *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 15–20 (for a detailed study of the account in the *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 22, 4–5 [vol.

1, p. 36], see Yūshō Miyasaka, "*Urubilvā-pratihārya* no geju no denshō keitai" [The transmitted form of the *Urubilvā-pratihārya*], *Indo koten ron* [On Indian classics], vol. 1 [Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1983], pp. 43–71; this demonstrates its ancient transmission); *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82, l. 30; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 155–58, 217–30, 413–14; *CPS*, pp. 240–315, 347 ff.; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 16 (*T.* 22:108a–9b); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:793b–94c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6–7 (*T.* 24:131a–36a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 12 (*T.* 3:611b–13a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:530c–32b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 41 (*T.* 3:843a–47b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:646a–50a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:31b–32a).

Representations in art: "Miracle at the Nerañjarā River" (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 124); second century, Amarāvatī (*ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 94); first century B.C.E., Bodhgayā (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu*, vol. 2, pl. 290); cave wall painting, Qïzïl, 600–650 C.E. (*West Berlin*, pl. 26); early first century, south pillar of eastern gate of Stupa 1, Sāñcī (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 2-133; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 54; Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen*, pl. 12; Sugiyama, *Indo bijutsu*, vol. 2, pl. 296; Hemmi, *Kodai Indo Mon'yo*, pl. 9; *WOB*, pl. III-14; Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten* [Illustrated encyclopedia of Buddhist terms; Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1988], p. 601, fig. 22). "Overcoming the poisonous *nāga*, conversion of the Kassapa brothers," second–third century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten*, fig. 23). "Miracle at Uruvelā," second–fourth century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (*WOB*, pl. III-13). "Converting the Kassapa brothers," second century B.C.E., Amarāvatī, Madras Museum (*WOB*, pl. III-15); third–fourth century, Kāpisī Sotarak (Banri Namikawa, *Namikawa Banri shashinshū—Gandāra* [Banri Namikwa's photo collection: Gandhāra; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984], pl. 53). "Gotama offers the snake to Kassapa," Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 43). "Sakyamuni at the fire hall at Uruvelā" (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 42).

209. A commentary on the *Buddhavaṃsa* says that Gotama converted the Kassapa brothers at Uruvelā in the last quarter of the first year following his enlightenment and that the following year in the month of Māgha (January-February) he went to Rājagaha. According to the *Fo-shou shih-erh-yu-ching* (*T.* 4:147a) the first discourse was given in the second year, the conversion of the Kassapa brothers occurred in the third year, and that of Sāriputta and Moggallāna took place in the fifth. He also gave the Fire Discourse to one thousand followers in the fifth year. This suggests that Gotama spent at least two years in the Gayā region.

210. Uruvela Kassapa: in Sanskrit, *Urubilvā-Kāśyapa*.

211. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82.

212. For Uruvela Kassapa, see C. S. Upasak, "The Role of Uruvela Kassapa in the Spread of Early Buddhism" in *Studies in Pali and Buddhism: A memorial volume in honor of Bhikkhu Jagadish Kashyap*, ed. A. K. Narain (Delhi: B. R. Pub. Corp.,

1979), pp. 369 74. The numbers of followers are given in the Pāli *Vinaya* and the *Ssu-fen-lü*.

213. The first brother is referred to as the Uruvelavāsin Kassapa (*Vinaya*, vol. 1, p. 36G). The *Theragāthā* (no. 340) says that Nadī Kassapa Thera gave his faith to the Buddha when the Buddha taught on the banks of the Nerañjarā River.

214. "Fire was a central part in all rituals" (*P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 12 (*T.* 24:158b).

215. *Therig.*, no. 306f.

216. *Therag.*, no. 287.

217. *CPS*, p. 238f.

218. Pāli: *agyāgāre* ("in the hall of the sacred fire"); Sanskrit: *āśramapade* ("within the precincts of the hermitage").

219. *Mahāsamaṇa*. In the Sanskrit text, *upādhyāya*.

220. If it is to conform to the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, the Pāli should read *nāge* (= *nāgo?*) *na viheṭhissati* (*CPS*, p. 242). The Chinese translation is unknown.

221. The Sanskrit text has *api tv aham apy arhan* ("However, I am also an *arhat*"; *CPS*. p. 244). The Tibetan text agrees with the Sanskrit.

222. The reference to Gotama as Aṅgirasa (*Vinaya*, vol. 1, p. 25) is one indication that this section is based on an ancient tradition. For the derivation of *Aṅgirasa*, see vol. 2 of this book.

223. *CPS*, p. 284.

224. *CPS*, p. 292.

225. *CPS*, p. 292.

226. *CPS*, p. 294.

227. *CPS*, p. 288.

228. *CPS*, p. 294.

229. *CPS*, p. 290.

230. *CPS*, pp. 296, 298.

231. *CPS*, p. 274.

232. *Jambu: Eugenia jambos*, rose apple; a tropical tree with a wide distribution in India. Transliterated as *yen-fu* (閻浮) in Chinese.

233. *CPS*, p. 276.

234. "Eight-day festivals": from approximately the twenty-third day of the month to the eighth day of the next month in the lunar calendar.

235. *CPS*, p. 304.

236. "Pure practice": *icchām' aham* (= *Uruvelakassapo*) *mahāsamaṇe* (= *bhagavati*) *brahmacariyaṃ caritum* (*Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 20, 18 [vol. 1, pp. 32–33]). This is based on a sentence from the *Upaniṣads: Maghavān Prajāpatau brahmacaryam uvāsā* (*Chānd. Up.*, VIII, 11, 3). Sakka's decision to be a follower is called *abhipravavrāja*.

237. "Belongings": the original text has *khārikāja*, whose meaning is unclear. A note in the original text interprets it as *khāribhāra* (one *khāri*). One *khāri* is about 108 liters. The Pali Text Society Pāli dictionary quotes the *Sv.*, vol. 1, p. 269,

saying *araṇi-kamaṇḍalu-sūcādayo tāpasa-parikkhārā.* The equivalent text in the *Ssu-fen-lü* (fasc. 33) gives *ching-i* (浄衣; "pure clothing") and *tsao-p'ing* (澡瓶; "water flask"). The expression clearly refers to personal belongings like fire starters, water flasks, and needles. "Into the river": in Sanskrit, *Nairañjanāyāṃ prakṣipya* ("thrown into the Nairañjanā River"); in Tibetan, *Chu-kluṅ ne-ran-dsa-naḥi naṅ-du bor-nas* (*CPS*, p. 307).

238. *AN*, vol. 1, p. 375.

239. *Jātaka*, 483, introduction.

240. The legend of the discourse on Mount Gayāsīsa: *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 21; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 230–31 (reconstructed from the Tibetan text); *CPS*, pp. 316–23; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 16 (*T.* 22:109b–c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 33 (*T.* 22:796b–97c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 24:134b et seq.).

241. See Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, pp. 199–200.

242. *SN*, XXXV, 28 (vol. 4, p. 19), contains the same discourse.

243. The Sanskrit and Tibetan (*CPS*, p. 316) texts say "set out for Gayā," but the Chinese translation (p. 134b), says *Ch'ieh-yeh-shan* (伽耶山; "Mount Gayā").

244. The Sanskrit and Tibetan (*CPS*, p. 324f.) texts say that King Bimbisāra invited Sakyamuni to Rājagaha, but this does not appear in the Pāli text, which says merely that Gotama went to Rājagaha.

Chapter 6: Conversion of Influential Followers

1. The legend of King Bimbisāra's conversion: *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 22; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 82–85; Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu* (Rome: IsMEO, 1977), part 1, pp. 159–61; *CPS*, vol. 3, pp. 330–71, 409–10; *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 26 (*T.* 2:694a–c); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 16 (*T.* 22: 109c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 33 (*T.* 22:797c–98c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 24:134c–37b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 44, 45 (*T.* 3:857a–61c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:32a–c); *P'ing-sha-wang wu-yüan-ching* (*T.* 14:779a–81a).

Representations in art: "Entry to Rājagaha," second–third century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Takashi Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* [Sakyamuni in the fine arts; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979], pl. 58; Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten* (Illustrated encyclopedia of Buddhist terms; Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1988), p. 583, pl. 24); "King Bimbisāra visits the Buddha," beginning of first century, south column of eastern gateway, Stupa 1, Sāñcī (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, fig. 31; Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten*, pl. 27).

2. The establishment of the Veḷuvana *vihāra* in Rājagaha, the journey from Magadha to Kosala, and the establishment of the Jetavana *vihāra* in Sāvatthī are covered in the following texts; the episodes are mentioned in relation to rules governing *vihāras*, sleeping equipment, and so on: *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," VI, 1–9 (vol. 2, pp. 146–64); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fascs. 50–51 (*T.* 22:936–41); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 25 (*T.*

22:166–67); *Shih-sung-lü*, fasc. 34 (*T.* 23:242–44). The equivalent Sanskrit text and its Tibetan translation can be found in *CPS*, vol. 3, pp. 350–412. See also *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 24:135a–36c). The *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 12 (*T.* 3:613b), says that a man called Chia-lan-t'uo (迦蘭陀; Kalanda) donated it, because no monasteries had existed.

3. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 22. The passage is translated and discussed in Ernst Windisch, *Māra und Buddha* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1895), pp. 234–44.

4. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 51:920a). See also Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (1884; Delhi: Orient Books Reprint Corporation, 1969), vol. 2, pp. 145–46.

5. For a detailed discussion, see vol. 2 of this book.

6. Windisch follows Buddhaghosa in connecting *kevalaparipuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ* to *dhammaṃ*, not *brahmacariyaṃ* (Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, p. 236, n. 3).

7. In Sanskrit, *Rājagṛhān niryāti* (*CPS*, p. 338); in Tibetan, *Rgyal-poḥi khab-nas byuṅ-ste* (*CPS*, p. 339). The figure 120,000 does not appear in the Sanskrit, Tibetan, or Chinese texts.

8. Added from the Sanskrit and Chinese texts.

9. According to the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese texts, Uruvela Kassapa entered *samādhi*.

10. This is a formulaic passage that also appears elsewhere. See *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 7, 4ff.; 8, 2ff.; 9, 3ff.; 10, 3ff.; 14, 4ff.

11. See *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 29; 33; 7, 6; 8, 2; 9, 3; 10, 3; 14, 4.

12. The same formulaic passage appears in *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 34; 8, 3; 9, 4; 10, 4; 14, 5.

13. See "Mahāvagga," I, 7, 10; 8, 3.

14. The same formula appears in *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 7, 10; 8, 3; and at the end of the *Assalāyana-sutta*, *MN*, no. 93.

15. The rest of this passage does not appear in other texts but contains formulaic expressions that do appear elsewhere; it is therefore considered a later addition.

16. See note 15.

17. Cf. *ariyavāso*.

18. The ten virtues are the eight stages of effort and attainment, *nibbāna*, and the sacred teaching. See R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pali Language* (London: Trübner, 1875), s.v. *asekho*.

19. This is a prose version of this verse; since it includes formulaic expressons and does not appear in other texts, it can be considered a later addition.

20. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," 22, 17–18 (vol. 1, p. 39).

21. *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 24:138a); *Pj.*, p. 419.

22. Representations in art: "The donation of Veṇuvana," first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (*WOB*, pl. 16); "The Veṇuvana *vihāra*," first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (Osamu Takata and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* [Art of India], vol. 2 [Tokyo: Nihon Keizai

Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 297); "The donation of Jetavana," first century, Peshawar, Peshawar Museum (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu,* vol. 2, pl. 70; *Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 61; Osamu Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen* [Origin of Buddhist images; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967], pl. 17, 18). The Veṇuvana *vihāra* also existed in later times. See *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:863a); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 9 (*T.* 51:922a).

23. *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," V, 1, 1f. (cf. H. Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* [Berlin: W. Hertz, 1881], 9th ed., pp. 208–11).

24. *māṇavakavaṇṇaṃ abhinimmitvā* (*Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 84, l. 14).

25. H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1896), p. 38.

26. *Ta-chih-tu-lun,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 25:77b–c).

27. *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta, DN,* no. 16, III, 42–43 (vol. 2, pp. 116–17).

28. A detailed explanation can be found in Windisch, *Māra und Buddha,* p. 81, n. 1.

29. *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 23 (vol. 1, p. 39f.). In addition to the English translation of the *Vinaya,* this section appears in Henry Clarke Warren, *Buddhism in Translations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1896), pp. 87–91. The equivalent Chinese translations are cited in note 2 of this chapter. See also *P'i-nai-yeh ch'u-cha-shih,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 23:1026a–28c).

30. *Vinaya,* vol. 1, pp. 40–41. The Chinese translation of this verse appears in a number of Buddhist texts, for example: "The Tathāgata teaches that *dharmas* come about through causes and conditions / And he teaches that they cease through causes and conditions. / *Dharmas* come into being through a cause / And the Tathāgata teaches that cause. / *Dharmas* cease through a cause / And the great *samaṇa* teaches that cause. / It is what my master teaches" (*Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 33 [*T.* 22:798c]). See also *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 16 (*T.* 22:110b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:652b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 48 (*T.* 3:876c); *Ta-chih-tu-lun,* fasc. 18 (*T.* 25:192b). The following verse, which appears in the *P'i-nai-yeh ch'u-chia-shih,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 23:1027b–c), and the *Nan-hai chi-kuei-chuan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 54:226c), is very close to the original: "All *dharmas* follow dependent origination. / The Tathāgata explains that cause. / Those *dharmas* disappear through causes and conditions. / This the great *samaṇa* has taught."

31. *Wu-yu-chu* (無有主): *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 16 (*T.* 22:110b). *Wu-chu* (無主): *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:652b).

32. *savvaṇṇu-bhāsiyā vāṇī ṇāṇāvatthodayantare* (*Isibhāsiyāiṃ,* 38, 11).

33. The legend of the conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 85, l. 14; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 171–78; *CPS,* pp. 373–93, 411–12; *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 16 (*T.* 22:110b–c); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 33 (*T.* 22:798c–99b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 24:140a–41c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 12 (*T.* 3:613c–14a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:533a–34b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,*

fasc. 48 (*T.* 3:875b–78b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:652a–53a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:33a c).

Representation in art: "The meeting with Sāriputta and Moggallāna," Tibetan *thang-ka* (painted scroll; *WOB,* pl. III-17).

34. *Vinaya,* vol. 1, pp. 39, 44.

35. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 85.

36. According to the Sanskrit version, Sañjaya had already died: *tena khalu samayena Rājagrhe Sañjayi-nāma tīrthyāyatanam acirotpannam abhūt / teṣāṃ śāstā acirakālagato 'bhūt* (p. 372).

37. According to the Sanskrit version, *teṣāṃ dvau sahāyakau gaṇa-parihārakau gaṇa-parikarṣakāv upatiṣyaś ca Kolitaś ca yau taṃ gaṇaṃ parikarṣataḥ* (p. 372).

38. *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 33 (*T.* 22:798c–99b).

39. "Upatissa said: 'The two hundred fifty disciples we received on our master's death'" (*Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 16 [*T.* 22:110b–c]).

40. This was also said about Devadatta, for example (*Vinaya,* "Cullavagga," VII, 4, 3 [vol. 2, p. 200]). The equivalent passage in the *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 46, says: "He became very angry and hot blood poured from his nose" (*T.* 22:910a).

41. *Catusparisatsūtram samāptam* (p. 398).

42. *Isibhāsiyāim,* 39.

43. *DN,* II, 32 (vol. 1, pp. 58–59). Hakuju Ui discusses this in *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* (Studies in Indian philosophy), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kōshisha, 1924–30; Reprint, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1982).

44. Concerning the breakdown of the 1,250, see *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:534b).

45. See Hajime Nakamura, "Sāriputta ni daihyō sareta saishoki no Bukkyō" (The earliest period of Buddhism, represented by Sāriputta), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 14, no. 2 (March 1966): 455–65; and Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyō no seiritsu* (Formation of early Buddhism), vol. 14 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1992).

46. See the Pāli *Vinaya, Ssu-fen-lü,* and *Wu-fen-lü.*

47. *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü,* fasc. 23 (*T.* 22:227a–549a).

48. *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:33c). See also Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyō no seiritsu.*

49. The legend of Udāyin urging Sakyamuni to return home: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 85, l. 24; *Mahāvastu,* vol. 3, p. 114; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 185–87; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 9 (*T.* 24:143a et seq.); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 12 (*T.* 3:614a–15c); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:534b–36c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 51 (*T.* 3:889c–91a).

50. According to the *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 82, 85), Sakyamuni spent the first rainy season after his enlightenment at Sārnāth. After that he went to Uruvelā, stayed there three months, and then proceeded to Rājagaha, where he remained two months. From there he went to Kapilavatthu, arriving after two

months on the road. However, the *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 7, says that after spending six years in ascetic practices (*T.* 3:582a), Sakyamuni attained enlightenment, then six years later met his father again: "Twelve years after parting they met again" (*T.* 3:614a, 616a). The *Fo-shou shih-erh-yu-ching* (*T.* 4:146c et seq.) says that Sakyamuni left home at twenty-nine, gained enlightenment at thirty-five, and met his father again after twelve more years.

51. See Kōgen Mizuno, *Shakuson no shōgai* (The life of Sakyamuni; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1960), p. 203.

52. The legend of the Buddha's return to his old home: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 88, l. 4; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, p 187f.; *Adhikaraṇavastu,* in *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu,* ed. Raniero Gnoli (Rome: IsMEO, 1978), pp. 59–63; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 9 (*T.* 24:144a–45c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 52–53 (*T.* 3:893a–99c).

53. There is a legend that Rāhula lived for centuries: *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:905a); Beal, vol. 2, pp. 42–43. The legend of the ordination of Rāhula and Nanda: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 91, l. 10; cf. *Dhp.,* ed. Fausböll, 1855, p. 334; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 12 (*T.* 24:158c–60c).

54. *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 91).

55. *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:37c).

56. "It is said that the *Bhikṣu* Nanda was of rare and handsome countenance. That same *Bhikṣu* Nanda did not find it easy to make his faculties tranquil" (*Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 3 [*T.* 2:557c]); *indriyesu gutta-dvārānaṃ* (*AN,* I, 14 [vol. 1, p. 25]). *AN,* VIII, 9, 4 (vol. 4, pp. 358–63) speaks of the virtuous *Bhikkhu* Nandaka.

57. See Mizuno, *Shakuson no shōgai,* pp. 205, 211.

58. The council hall is called *chiang-t'ang* (講堂) in one Chinese translation (*Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 43 [*T.* 2:316a–b]).

59. *MN,* vol. 1, pp. 353–54.

60. One Chinese translator seems to interpret the floor as being earthen: "He spread a floor mat and spread out soft grass on the ground" (*Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 43 [*T.* 2:316a]).

61. "At that time, when the Buddha had returned to Kapilavatthu, all the Sakyas listened to his discourse" (*Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 43 [*T.* 2:316b]).

62. According to the Chinese translation, the Buddha addressed Mahā-Moggallāna (*Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 43 [*T.* 2:316b]).

63. *DN,* no. 33 (vol. 3, pp. 207–9). However, the Chinese translation makes no mention of a council hall (*Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 8: *Chung-chi-ching* [*T.* 1:49b–c]).

64. *SN,* I, 7, 2, 12 (vol. 1, p. 184).

65. *SN,* I, 7, 2, 12 (vol. 1, p. 184); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 44 (1180) (*T.* 2: 319a–b). However, the Chinese translation does not specify Sakyas but just says: "At one time the Buddha was staying in the Brahmin village in the Sala forest."

66. *Vinaya,* "Cullavagga," VII, 1, 3 (vol. 2, pp. 181–82).

67. This episode appears in the *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," VII, 1, 3 (vol. 2, pp. 183f.), and *Udāna*, II, 10, pp. 18f.

68. *āyasmā*. Literally, "replete with life." This, however, does not convey the meaning of the word. "Elder" is not a suitable translation here, since a young *bhikkhu* is being addressed as *āyasmā*. In Sanskrit, younger people were generally addressed as *āyuṣmat*. In India *āyasmā* was used very much like "Mr."

69. *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," VII, 1, 4 (vol. 2, pp. 182–83).

70. After the Buddha left Kapilavatthu and before he returned to Rājagaha, he went to stay at Anupiya in the country of the Mallas. Kern says it was while he was there that Anuruddha, Mahānāma, Bhaddiya, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila, and Devadatta left Kapilavatthu to take ordination under him (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 28). There is no clear evidence for attributing that date to the event.

71. The legend of the ordination of the Sakya youths: *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," VII, 1; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 194–95; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 24:145a–c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 53 (*T.* 3:899c–901a); William Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha* (London: Trübner, 1884), pp. 52–53.

Representations in art: third–fourth century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Archaeological Museum, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, and Ryōjun Satō, ed., *Budda no sekai* [The world of the Buddha; Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980], pl. 2-65; *Nagarj.*, pl. V; *WOB*, pl. 27; Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 602, fig. 26); "King Suddhodana venerating Sakyamuni," first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (*WOB*, pl. III-19; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 11b); "Visiting Yaśodharā," frieze discovered at Goli, third century, Madras Museum (*WOB*, pl. 20); "Nanda's aborted flight," Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 57); "Sakyamuni and Nanda visit heaven," third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB*, pl. III-22; *Nagarj.*, p. 54, pl. VII); "Nanda's taking refuge and ordination" (The Buddha's half-brother Nanda appears in three places in the lower part of the frieze on the Amarāvatī balustrade pillar representing the chance meeting between Sakyamuni and Rāhula), third century, British Museum (Jirō Sugiyama, ed., *Indo no bijutsu* [Indian art], vol. 4 of *Gurando sekai bijutsu* [Great art of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976], pl. 40; A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that Was India* [New York: Grove Press, 1954], pl. XXXIII); second century, Amarāvatī, Madras Museum (*WOB*, pl. III-21); "Discourse at Kapilavatthu before Rāhula" (The Buddha is represented by a platform and a footmark), ca. second century, Amarāvatī (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 2-134; Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu*, vol. 1, pl. 168; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 61); first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (*WOB*, pl. III-18, 19); "Ordination of Rāhula," seventh century, Nālandā (*WOB*, pl. III-26); second century, Amarāvatī, British Museum (*WOB*, pl. III-24); second century, Amarāvatī, Madras Museum (*WOB*, pl. III-23); sixth century, Ajantā, Cave 19 (*WOB*, pl. III-25); Ajantā, Cave 17 (Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Indo no busseki to Hindū jiin* [Buddhist sites of India

and Hindu temples], vol. 5 of *Sekai no bunka shiseki* [Historical sites of culture in the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], pl. 31).

72. Chizen Akanuma, *Shakuson* (Śākyamuni; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1934), pp. 15–21.

73. *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 41 (*T.* 2:297b–c); *AN,* X, 46 (vol. 5, pp. 83–86).

74. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 85, l. 24f.

75. *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 54.

76. *Sn.,* 422, 423.

77. Regarding King Pasenadi, see D. D. Kosambi, "Ancient Kosala and Magadha," *Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* 27, part 2: 184–87. The legend of Pasenadi's conversion: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 181–82; *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 59 (*T.* 1:792c–95b); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 42 (*T.* 2:304b–5b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:38c–39a). No mention is made of the legend in the *Nidānakathā.*

Representations in art: "Visit of King Prasenajit," second century B.C.E., Bhārhut, National Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-31; Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu,* vol. 2, pl. 281); "Sakyamuni and the king," early second century C.E., Kankālī-Ṭīlā, State Museum, Lucknow (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 56).

78. *DN,* no. 27, *Aggañña-suttanta,* 8 (vol. 3, pp. 83–84); *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 6: *Hsiao-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:37b).

79. *DN,* no. 27, p. 84; *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 6.

80. *MN,* no. 87, *Piyajātika-sutta* (vol. 2, p. 110).

81. *MN,* vol. 2, p. 124. *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 59 (*T.* 1:797b).

82. *Bhaddasāla-jātaka* (no. 465), *Jātaka,* vol. 4, pp. 151–52.

83. *SN,* III, 2, 3 (vol. 1, pp. 81–82); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 42 (*T.* 2:306c).

84. *SN,* III, 1, 1 (vol. 1, pp. 68–69).

85. *Vinaya,* "Cullavagga," VI, 1–2 (vol. 2, pp. 146–51); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 50 (*T.* 22:936–41).

86. Also spelled Sahāt-Mahāt in Sanskrit. Archaeology has revealed that the present Sāheṭh-Māheṭh is the site of the ancient Jetavana monastery in Sāvatthī. At least four Buddhist inscriptions that predate the Gupta dynasty have been found here. Two are on the bases of bodhisattva statues, one is on a parasol (*cattrāvalī*), and one is on the base of a seated Buddha statue. See Masao Shizutani, *Indo Bukkyō himei mokuroku* (Catalogues of Indian Buddhist inscriptions), part 2, nos. 759–62 (1964); Akanuma, *Shakuson,* pp. 305–11. Sāheṭh-Māheṭh is about fifty-eight miles north of Oudh (ancient Ayodhyā or Sāketa), near the Nepal border, on the south bank of the Rāptī River. The site was identified by Alexander Cunningham. See Mochizuki, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* (Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1932–63), pp. 2115–17; Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* (Dictionary of Indian Buddhist proper nouns; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1986), p. 608; Vogel, *JRAS* (1908), p. 971 (cited in Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of*

India: From the Earliest Times to the End of 1911 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923], 41).

87. *etad aggaṃ . . . dāyakānaṃ yad idaṃ Sudatto gahapati Anāthapiṇḍiko* (*AN*, I, 14 [vol. 1, pp. 24–26]). "Among my disciples, . . . was the great donor, Sudatta the wealthy man" (*Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 3 [*T.* 2:559c]).

88. The oldest source regarding Sudatta is *SN*, X, 8 (vol. 1, pp. 210–12). The *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," VI, 4, 1–4, gives a fairly detailed account of him. For later sources, see note 90 (except the reference to *Jātaka*).

89. For the name Jetavana the following is recorded in Sanskrit: *anāthapiṇḍadena gṛhapatinā buddhapramukhāya bhikṣusaṅghāya Jetavanaṃ niryātitaṃ* (*AvŚ.*, vol. 1, p. 313, ll. 6–7); *buddho bhagavān . . . viharati Jetavane 'nāthapiṇḍadasyārāme* / (*AvŚ.*, vol. 1, p. 13, ll. 4–6; vol. 1, p. 223, ll. 4–6). Franklin Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven: Yale University, 1953) gives "in the park for *bhikkhus* donated by the man Anāthapiṇḍika in the Jeta Grove"; the sources suggest that this should be instead "in the Jeta Grove, that is, the park for *bhikkhus* [donated] by the man Anāthapiṇḍika." *Anātha-piṇḍadasyārāmaḥ* (*Mahāvyutp.*, 4111); *Jetavanam* (*Mahāvyutp.*, 4112); *viharati (sma) Jetavane 'nāthapiṇḍadasya-ārāme* (*Lalitavistara*, p. 1. l. 5; *Divyāv.*, p. 1, l. 2; p. 35, l. 11; p. 80, l. 12); *anāthapiṇḍado gṛhapatiḥ* (*Divyāv.*, p. 77, l. 27; p. 172, l. 27; p. 466, l. 23, cf. p. 168, l. 5; p. 429, l. 8; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, pp. 180–81). The formal name, *Jetavanam anāthapiṇḍadasyārāmaḥ*, seems appropriate (Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 181, l. 11).

90. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 92f. The legend of Sudatta's conversion to Buddhism and his donation of the Jetavana monastery: *SN*, vol. 1, pp. 33, 53; *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," IV, 4 (vol. 2, pp. 74–80); VI, 1–2 (vol. 2, pp. 146–51); *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 92, l. 27; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 180–81; *Śayanāsanavastu*, in Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu* (Rome: IsMEO, 1978), 10–31 (a detailed description of Sudatta is also given); Turnour, ed., *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 44; *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 1:458b–61b); *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 2:559c), fasc. 49 (*T.* 2:814a–21b); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 50 (*T.* 22:936b–41c); *Chung-hsü-mo-ho-ti-ching*, fascs. 11–12 (*T.* 3:966a; 967–69b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:34 et seq.); *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:860b–c); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:899b); Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism in Its Modern Development* (London: 1853, 1880), 2; Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of the Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese* (Rangoon: American Mission Press, 1866), vol. 1, p. 194; Alexander Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut* (London: W. H. Allen, 1879), pl. 57.

Representations in art: early first century B.C.E., Bhārhut, Indian Museum, National Museum, Calcutta (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 2-59; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 63; Teruo Ueno, ed., *Karukatta bijutsukan* [Indian Museum, Calcutta], vol. 32 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1970], pl. 81; Sugiyama, *Indo no bijutsu*, cover; *WOB*, pl. III-28; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 31e; Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 583, fig. 28.

91. *SN*, vol. 1, pp. 33G, 55G. "Seers" refers to the *bhikkhus*.

92. Akanuma states that the area of the Jetavana monastery at the time of the Buddha was 13,000 or 14,000 *tsubo* (*Shakuson*, pp. 358–62).

93. Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, pp. 32–35, 245–48.

94. Akanuma, *Shakuson*, p. 328.

95. According to the *Pa-ta-ling-t'a ming-hao-ching* (*T.* 32:773), twenty-three years; the *Seng-ch'ieh-lo-ch'a so-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 4:144b), twenty years; the *Fen-pieh kung-te-lun* (*T.* 25:33b) and the *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:860c), twenty-five years; the *Dhammapada Commentary* (vol. 1, p. 2), nineteen years at the Jetavana monastery, six years at the East Grove monastery, and twenty-five years in Sāvatthī (Akanuma, *Shakuson*, p. 313). Only the *Ta-chih-tu-lun* records that he spent a great deal of time in Rājagaha.

96. Shōzen Kumoi, "Shoki Bukkyō kyōdan to Shaejō" (The early Buddhist community and Śrāvastī), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 18, no. 2 (March 1970): 33–40.

97. Akanuma, *Shakuson*, pp. 336–38.

98. *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," VI, 4, 1f. (vol. 2, p. 154f.).

99. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 211, has *sīvathika*. This was the general name given to charnel grounds on the outskirts of towns. They were thought to be ideal places for meditation, for the spirits of the dead would receive consolation thereby. Even today a few Hindu holy men live in such places.

100. The words "The Perfected One, the Truly Enlightened One" are missing in *SN*, vol. 1, p. 211.

101. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 212, lacks the underlined portion.

102. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 193G.

103. *Sn.*, 547. See also *Sn.*, 573, and the explanation of the prose section.

104. The most concise version of the above appears in *SN*, I, 10, 8 (vol. 1, pp. 210–12). See also *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 22 (592) (*T.* 2:157b–58b).

105. *SN*, vol. 4, p. 210.

106. Quotations from the *Nidānakathā* in this section are from *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 92–93.

107. "Room" is a translation of *gandhakuṭī*, literally, "perfumed chamber," and was long used to denote the Buddha's own room.

108. Visākhā's donation is discussed in Hajime Nakamura, *Butsudeshi no shōgai* (Lives of the Buddha's disciples), vol. 13 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1991).

109. "The ruins are located near modern Nepal, on the borders of Bahraich and Gonda districts in the villages of Sāheṭh and Māheṭh on the south bank of the Rāpti River. Archaeological excavations by Cunningham and John Marshall in the last century unearthed remains of buildings, sculpture (mostly Buddhist sculpture, but also some Jaina and Brahmin), and inscriptions (Shizutani, *Indo Bukkyō himei mokuroku*, part 2, nos. 759–62). Most of the excavated items are in the

Lucknow Museum. The site was an important religious and cultural center and an important town on ancient trade routes (Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India* [London: Trübner & Co., 1871], p. 467; Bimala Churn Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India* [Paris: Société Asiatique de Paris, 1954], pp. 124–26; V. Pathak, *History of Kośala up to the Rise of the Mauryas* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1963], p. 345). Seventy to 80 percent of ancient Buddhist sutras are set here." Shinjō Mizutani's note to his Japanese translation of *Daitō saiiki ki* (Records of the western regions), vol. 22 of *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* (Collection of Chinese classical literature; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), p. 183, n. 1.

110. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6. See Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, 1–2.

111. "An important Buddhist center in ancient times, and still flourishing when Fa-hsien visited it, writing, 'There are 98 (18 according to the Koguryŏ edition) *saṃghārāmas* around Śrāvastī where priests live; only one is empty.'" Mizutani, *Daitō saiiki ki*, p. 183, n. 2

112. "This Aśokan stone pillar is mentioned by Fa-hsien. 'Leaving the south gate of the city and walking twelve hundred paces, there is a *vihāra* built by the wealthy merchant Sudatta on the west side of the road. There is a gate facing east with stone pillars on either side. On the left pillar is carved a wheel and on the right pillar is carved an ox.' Following this description, he writes: 'The pool is clear, the trees are still thick, and there are various flowers of different colors; they look dense. This is the place known as the Jetavana *vihāra*.' He also mentions that the site has been restored at the time of his visit" (Mizutani, *Daitō saiiki-ki*, pp. 185–86, n. 2).

113. *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 28 (*T.* 2:706a), says that King Prasenajit had a golden statue made upon hearing that King Udayana had had one made.

114. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6. See Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, 4–5.

115. This is based on Yoshinori Aboshi, "Gion shōja no hakkutsu chōsa o oete" (On completing the excavation of the Jetavana monastery), *Honganji shimpō* (June 10, 1989): 2. For a more detailed report, see Aboshi, "Gion shōja no hakkutsu" (Excavation of the Jetavana monastery), *Bukkyōshigaku kenkyū* 34, no. 1 (July 1991): 130–47.

116. *Sv.*, vol. 1, p. 45f. This is Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dīgha-Nikāya*. Translated in Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 91–95.

117. Here *seers* refers to the Buddhist *bhikkhus*.

118. *SN*, I, 5, 8 (vol. 1, p. 33).

119. *SN*, I, 2, 2, 10 (vol. 1, p. 55); *MN*, no. 143, *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta* (vol. 3, p. 262); *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 22 (*T.* 2:158).

120. *AN*, IX, 20 (vol. 4, p. 392).

121. H. C. Norman, ed., *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vol. 3 (London: Luzac, 1970), p. 9.

122. The bell of Gion is a well-known image in Japan, deriving from the opening passage of the *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike): "The bell of the Gion temple echoes with the sound of the transience of all things. The colors of the

twin *sala* trees reveal that all that prospers must decay. The proud do not continue long: they are as a dream on a spring night. The brave too will soon die, like dust before the wind."

The linking of the bell of Gion and transience may derive in part from the *Chung-t'ien-chu She-wei-kuo ch'i-yüan-ssu t'u-ching* (*T.* 45:882 et seq., especially 893c, 895b), which relates that there was an infirmary called the Hall of Transience in the Jetavana monastery, and that if the *bhikṣus* heard the sound of its bell, they would attain the true Way without losing their minds. But an even stronger sense of transience is conveyed by a passage of *Ōjō yōshū* (Essentials of Pure Land rebirth) by the Japanese priest Genshin (942 1017) that tells of a hospice system. There was a facility northwest of the Jetavana monastery called the Mujō-in (Hall of Transience), where the sick were cared for until death. (See the translation into modern Japanese by Mizumaro Ishida, *Ōjō yōshū*, vol. 2 [Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1964], 133 34). However, there is no mention of a bell. Shōkō Watanabe points out that there was no bell at Jetavana (*Bukkyō* [Buddhism; Tokyo: Iwanami, 1956], pp. 6–9). Nevertheless, it is believed in Japan that the sound of the bell at Jetavana was in the tone of *ōjiki*. Myōshin-ji in Kyoto possesses a bell in this tone, designated a national treasure.

123. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6. See Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, 5–6.

124. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," VIII, 26, 3 (vol. 1, p. 302). For related accounts about the sick, see *Suttavibhaṅga*, V, 4 (*Vinaya*, vol. 3, p. 143); "Mahāvagga," VIII, 15, 7 (*Vinaya*, vol. 1, p. 291); 15, 13 (*Vinaya*, vol. 1, pp. 293 94); VIII, 26, 1–6 (*Vinaya*, vol. 1, pp. 294, 302 3).

125. *yo bhikkhave maṃ upaṭṭhaheyya so gilānan upaṭṭhaheyya.*

126. *Sheng-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:89b–90a).

127. Norman, ed., *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vol. 1, pp. 319 20.

128. *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 40 (*T.* 2:766b–67b).

129. *AN*, VII, 59 (vol. 4, p. 91f.); *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 49 (9) (*T.* 2:820c).

130. *Jātaka*, vol. 2, pp. 347, 349, 351; G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. 2 (London: J. Murray, 1937 38), 1187.

131. *Fo-shou Yü-yeh-ching* (*T.* 2:863c); *Yü-yeh-ching* (*T.* 2:865c–67a); *Yü-yeh-nü-ching* (*T.* 2:864c 65c).

132. Akanuma, *Shakuson*, pp. 352–55; Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, pp. 772–74.

133. The tables are based on information in Akanuma, *Shakuson*, pp. 314–26.

134. That the upper Ganges was a Brahmin stronghold is clear from the legend of Kurukṣetra. The Buddhist sutras also mention it. See Richard Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit* (Kiel: C. F. Haescler, 1897).

135. *MN*, no. 96, *Esukāri-sutta*. I cover the subject of the equality of the castes in *Genshi Bukkyō no seikatsu rinri* (Ethics of everyday life in early Buddhism), vol. 17 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1995).

136. *MN*, no. 93, *Assalāyana-sutta*.

137. *MN*, no. 13, *Mahādukkhakkhandha-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 83f.).

138. The equivalent Chinese text (*Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 42 [1158] [*T.* 2:308b–c]) calls the Brahmin woman P'o-ssu-cha (婆肆吒), which suggests the family name Vāsiṣṭha.

139. *SN*, I, 7, 1 (vol. 1, pp. 160–61).

140. *DN*, no. 5, *Kūṭadanta-suttanta* (vol. 1, p. 148).

141. *DN*, no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 87–110); *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 13 (20): *A-mo-chou-ching* (*T.* 1:82a–88b) is the Chinese equivalent. The *Fo-k'ai-chiai fan-chih a-p'o-ching* (*T.* 1:259c–64a) is also an equivalent, but considerably different in content.

142. *DN*, vol. 1, p. 84. The *Fo-k'ai-chiai fan-chih a-p'o-ching* (*T.* 1:259c) begins: "At one time the Buddha was sitting with five hundred disciples under trees outside Licchavi[?] of the Vajjis," which would mean that Pokkharasādi lived in Vajji. The *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 13: *A-mo-chou-ching* (*T.* 1:82a), however, places him in Kosala.

143. *SN*, I, 7, 2, (vol. 1, pp. 161–62).

144. *DN*, no. 25, *Udumbarika-sīhanāda-suttanta* (vol. 3, pp. 36–57); *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 8 (8): *San-t'o-na-ching* (*T.* 1:47a–49b); *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 26 (104): *Yu-t'an-p'o-lo-ching* (*T.* 1:591b–95c).

145. *MN*, no. 77, *Mahāsakuludāyi-sutta* (vol. 2, pp. 1–22).

146. *MN*, no. 79, *Cūḷasakuludāyi-sutta* (vol. 2, pp. 29–39); *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 57 (207, 208): *Chien-mao-ching* (*T.* 1:781b–86b).

147. *MN*, no. 58, *Abhayarājakumāra-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 392–96).

148. Legends of miracles at Sāvatthī: *Dhp.*, ed. Fausböll, p. 338; *Divyāv.*, XII; *Mahāvastu*, III, 115; Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, vol. 1, p. 216; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 79; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 25 (*T.* 22:166c, 67b–c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 50 (*T.* 22:938b et seq.); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 24:141a–42b); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6, "Shi-lo-fu-shi-ti" (Śrāvastī). However, specific miracles are not identified. Therefore when identifying the scenes represented in art, it is necessary to study their connection with the many legends concerning Sāvatthī.

Representations in art: "Miracle at Śrāvastī," ca. third century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 2-73; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 65; Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen*, pl. 39; Chikyō Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū* [The roots of Buddhist art; Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1981], pl. 71; *WOB*, pl. III-29; Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 603, fig. 30); "Miracle at Śrāvastī," K. S. Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in South India and Early Andhra History* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1981), p. 62; Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pls. 39–41; Banri Namikawa, *Namikawa Banri shashinshū—Gandāra* [Banri Namikawa's photo collection: Gandhāra; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984], pl. 69); Kuṣāṇa period, third–fourth century, Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*Indo, Nishi Ajia* [India and West Asia], vol. 13 of *Genshoku sekai no bijutsu*

[Art of the world in full color; Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1973], pl. 27); third–fourth century, Karachi National Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 66; Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1971], pl. 91; Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pl. 68); "The Miracle of Water and Fire": (Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pl. 66); fifth century, Sārnāth, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-30); tenth–eleventh century, Bengal or Bihar (*ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 383; Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in India*).

149. Sirigutta appears in *Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā,* vol. 2, p. 211; *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā,* vol. 1, p. 434f.; *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 41 (7) (*T.* 2:773c); *Ta-chih-tu-lun,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 25:77c); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 9 (*T.* 51:921a); *I-ch'ieh-ching yin-i,* fasc. 26 (*T.* 54:475c). These references are from Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten,* p. 621; see also *Ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 27:30c). The Peshawar Museum has a relief in the Gandhāran style showing Śrīgupta inviting Sakyamuni (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 44, pp. 422–43). Sehrai says that Śrīgupta was a disciple of Pūraṇa, but the source for this assertion is not identified.

150. *Jātaka,* no. 472, vol. 4, pp. 187–89; *Dhp.,* ed. Fausböll, 1885, p. 338. Other legends concerning slander by women: *Sheng-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:70 et seq.); *P'i-nai-yeh yao-shih,* fasc. 16 (*T.* 24:76); *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:860c); Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism,* p. 275; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* pp. 33–34.

151. *Udāna,* IV, 8, pp. 43–46. Kern believes that the Ciñcā incident occurred before the eighth rainy-season retreat and the Sundarī incident before the twentieth rainy-season retreat, with a twelve-year gap between the two (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* pp. 33, 37). The story of a prostitute's murder by heretics appears in *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:461a–66b); *Liu-tu-chi-ching* (*T.* 3:1a–52b); *Jātaka,* vol. 2, p. 415, l. 14 ad. no. 285; E. B. Cowell, trans., *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births,* vol. 2 (Cambridge University Press, 1895–1913; Repring, London: Luzac, 1969), p. 283. For another quelling of criticism after seven days, see this volume, p. 324.

152. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:899c). See Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, p. 9.

153. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* (*T.* 51:899c). See Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, pp. 7–8.

154. *DN,* no. 2, *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta* (vol. 1, p. 47f.) and no. 16, *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (vol. 2, pp. 72ff.); Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* pp. 38–40. I deal with Jīvaka in *Butsudeshi no shōgai.*

155. *Chung-pen-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 4:157 et seq.); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:38 et seq.).

156. For the site of Kosambī, see Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* pl. I-82. An inscription has been found attesting to the existence of the Ghositārāma in Kosambī (*WOB,* pl. III-35).

157. *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 49.

158. *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü,* fasc. 14 (*T.* 22:342a); *Kokuyaku issaikyō,* vol. 9 of *Vinaya,* p. 430.

159. *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü,* fasc. 19 (*T.* 22:383c–84b).

160. Ānanda did not repeat the Buddha's words "Just release them." He was probably motivated in this by political considerations.

161. The king may have wanted to be sure the bandits would establish a direct relationship with the Buddha.

162. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:900c). See Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, p. 12. "Obtaining-Sight Forest": *te-yen-lin* (得眼林); Skt., *andhavana. Tseng-i a-han-ching* (*T.* 2:734b) gives *chou-an-yüan* (晝闇園).

163. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 6.

164. *Fu-t'u:* 浮図.

165. The Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* (*P'i-nai-yeh,* fasc. 42 [*T.* 23:857a–58a]).

166. Soṇadaṇḍa: *DN,* no. 4, *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta,* 6 (vol. 1, p. 116). The Chinese text (*Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 15 [22]: *Chung-te-ching* [*T.* 1:95a]) gives the names of a few other Brahmins: "The *śrāmaṇa* Gautama was honored by the kings Pasenadi and Bimbisāra. . . . He was also honored by the Brahmin Pokkharasādi . . . [and] the Brahmins Brahmāyu, Tārukkha, Soṇadaṇḍa, and Subha-Todeyyaputta."

Kūṭadanta: *DN,* no. 5, *Kūṭadanta-suttanta* (vol. 1, pp. 132–33). The equivalent Chinese text (*Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 15 [23]: *Chiu-luo-t'an-t'ou-ching* [*T.* 1:97c]) gives the following as the Brahmins who gave their faith to him: Pokkharasāti, Brahmāyu, Tārukkha, Soṇadaṇḍa, and Subha-Todeyyaputta.

167. *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta, DN,* no. 4.

168. *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:40b–c).

169. *Sn.,* 18. The Mahī River is apparently a branch of the Gandak River, which flows south from the foothills of the Himalayas and joins the Ganges north of Patna. See Mochizuki, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten,* p. 1877c.

170. *Sn.,* 20.

171. *Therīg.,* 317. Cf. index.

172. "Six great cities": *Shih-sung-lü,* fasc. 40 (*T.* 23:288b–c); *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih,* fasc. 25 (*T.* 24:328c). "Eight great cities": *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü,* fasc. 33 (*T.* 22:497a).

173. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* pp. 30–40.

174. The passing of Suddhodāna is mentioned in the *Ching-fan-wang pan-nieh-p'an-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 14:781 et seq.).

175. Khemā is discussed in considerable detail in Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten,* p. 303a, but there is no clear dating.

176. This story appears in the Āgama sutras: *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 19 (506) (*T.* 2:134a–c); *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 28 (5) (*T.* 2:703b–8c). Sāṃkāśya is transliterated in two ways: Seng-chia-she-ch'eng (僧迦舎城; p. 134c) and Seng-chia-shih (僧迦尸; p. 707a).

177. Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama,* vol. 1, p. 234.

178. *Sn.,* 76–82.

179. Soreyya is said to be close to Taxila in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā,* vol. 3, pp. 325–26.

180. Hsü-li: 須礼. *Shan-chien-lü p'i-p'o-sha*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:710c).

181. *Samantapāsādikā*, vol. 1, p. 201.

182. The incident about Suprabuddha (Pāli, Suppabuddha) appears in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vol. 3, pp. 44 ff. No mention is made in the older texts. See Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 36. For Suprabuddha's interference, see Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 339; Kentoku Hori, *Bijutsujō no Shaka* (Sakyamuni in art; Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1910), pp. 208–10; *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vol. 3, pp. 44 ff.; Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, pp. 664–65.

183. For this story, see *SN*, I, 10, 12 (vol. 1, pp. 213–15). It also appears in Hajime Nakamura, *Akuma to no taiwa* (Dialogues with demons; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1986), 241–46. The conversion of the *yakṣa* may hint at the historical fact of the conversion of aboriginal peoples living in the area.

184. *Sn.*, 455–56. The robe (*saṃghāṭi*) was worn above the inner and outer robes, making a total of three robes. This was all the clothing *bhikkhus* owned.

185. *Sn.*, 487.

186. See vol. 2 of this book.

187. Many scholars give the name as Bāvarī, while using the root form for other names in the *Suttanipāta*. However an *-ī* ending is very strange in a masculine noun. A few manuscripts and the commentary (*Pj.*, p. 580) give the form Bāvari. Why the nominative case is given as Bāvarī is unclear. No such word as *Bavara*, *Bāvari*, or *Bāvarin* appears in Vedic texts. The scholar Hare says that the root form of the word ends in *-in* and so interprets the name as consisting of *Bāvara* + *in*. He explains that this became *Bāvarī* in the nominative. Grammatically, this interpretation is acceptable, but it is not clear why *-in* should be suffixed to *Bāvara*, because the common noun *Bāvara* is not used. I have therefore followed Buddhaghosa in considering the name to be Bāvari, with the final long vowel attached for metrical purposes. Buddhaghosa says that Bāvari was the son of an imperial tutor (*purohita*) of Pasenadi (*Pj.*, p. 580).

188. *devatā* (*assame adhivattha-devatā eva; Pj.*, p. 582).

189. *Sn.*, 991 ff. The following verses correspond to the introduction to the "Pārāyana-vagga" (Chapter on going to the far shore) and may have been added later. They are not treated in the *Culla-Niddesa* and are not included in texts translated into Chinese. For a detailed discussion, see Kōgen Mizuno's translation into modern Japanese (*Nanden Daizōkyō* [The Southern Tripiṭaka], vol. 24 [Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1939], n. 2, p. 386–88). From the point of view of expression, these verses seem to belong to an older form of language than the prose sections of the early Buddhist scriptures.

190. "Knowledge of the supernormal": *abhiññā*.

191. "Removed all delusions": *upadhisaṃkhaye*. Neumann interprets this as being rid of all delusions, or attachments. ("Unhaftbar weilt er"; *Neumann Sn.*, p. 343.) It is also possible to translate *upadhi* as "factors of existence." ("Life's stuff"; *Chalmers Sn.*, p. 237). Fausböll did not translate the original into English. Prob-

ably the former is the original meaning and the interpretation "abolition of the factors of existence" represents a further stage of doctrinal development.

192. "Diminished": *āsi* (Skt., *āsīt*. 3d singular). This word also appears in *SN*, vol. 1, p. 30, l. 3.

193. *Bṛhad. Up.*, III, 6, 1; cf. *Bṛhad. Up.*, III, 7, 2; *Chānd. Up.*, V, 12, 2.

194. *Bṛhad. Up.*, III, 9, 27; cf. *Chānd. Up.*, I, 3, 26.

195. *Chānd. Up.*, V, 12, 2.

196. "Mastered the [Vedic] mantras": *mantapāraga*, "perfect in the hymn."

197. This refers to the concept of the universal emperor (wheel-rolling king).

198. "Birth": *jāti*. This usually means good or bad birth; however, the commentary (*Pj.*, p. 583) interprets it to mean birth date or age: *'kīvaciraṃ jāto' ti.*

199. *mante . . . ti mayā paṭhitavede* (*Pj.*, p. 583).

200. See Hajime Nakamura, *Budda no kotoba* (The words of the Buddha; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984), p. 429. I discuss this further in my *Genshi Bukkyō no seiritsu* (Formation of early Buddhism), vol. 14 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1992).

201. *Sn.*, 1007, 1077f.

202. "Circled . . . to the right": *padakkhiṇā*. Circling a person with one's right shoulder facing the person (clockwise) was a way of showing respect that is also used in certain Buddhist ceremonies today in Japan. The custom was taken into Buddhism from Brahmanic usage. The *Mahābhārata* tells how a bird circled the fire three times (*tam agniṃ triḥ parikramya*) and killed itself (*MBh.*, XII, 146, 23).

203. Gonaddha: According to the commentary (*Pj.*, p. 583), this is Godhapura. Gonaddha is the equivalent of the Sanskrit Gonarda. It appears to have been near Sāñcī (*Mémorial Sylvain Levi* [Paris: Paul Hartmann, 1937], pp. 306–13). Vedisa: the capital of Avanti in central India. "To the place called Vanasa": *Vanasavhayan ti Tumbavanagaraṃ vuccati, Vanasāvatthin ti eke* (*Pj.*, p. 583).

204. The sixteen had heard the Buddha was in Sāvatthī, so they went there via the western road from the south. However, the Buddha had already left the city and moved to another place, so they followed, arriving in Rājagaha to the southeast.

205. "Best of cities": *puruttama*. This epithet suggests strongly that Sāvatthī was very prosperous at the time of the Buddha; this is borne out by the fact that the wealthy merchant Sudatta lived there and that the Jetavana monastery was built on its outskirts.

206. Pāvā: Skt., Pāpā. This may be modern Padrauna. Pāsāṇaka shrine: *Pāsāṇakaṃ cetiyaṃ* (= *Pāsanaka-cetiya; Pj.*, p. 583). According to the commentary (*Pj.*, p. 584), there was a great rock there, upon which was built a shrine (*devaṭṭhāna*), which was a *vihāra* in Gotama's time. In fact what probably was there was a rock with a big tree on top, under which people rested. There may have been a small shrine at the most. If there had been no tree, people would not have been able to bear the heat.

207. From now on we find the expression "lion's roar."

208. "Tell me the birth [of my master Bāvari]": *Tattha ādissā ti 'kativasso' ti evaṃ uddissa; jammanan ti amhākaṃ ācariyassa jātiṃ brūhī ti pucchati* (*Pj.*, p. 584). I think it is difficult to interpret *jāti* as "rank" or "status" here, for both questioner and answerer knew that Bāvari was a Brahmin.

209. "Mastery of the mantras": *mantesu pāramiṃ*. Here *pāramī* is not the technical term of later times, *pāramitā*, but rather meant something like *Vollkommenheit* (Ludwig Alsdorf, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. Albrecht Wezler [Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1974], p. 316). *Pāramī* = *niṭṭhāgamana* (*Pj.*, p. 584). It means to reach the ultimate.

210. These are the *Ṛg Veda*, the *Sāmaveda*, and the *Yajurveda*, the basic Brahmanic scriptures. Note that the *Atharvaveda* is not included.

211. "His own teaching": *sadhamme ti sake brāhmaṇadhamme. tevijjake pāvacane ti vuttaṃ hoti.* This refers to Brahmanic doctrine.

212. "He can cover his face with his tongue": This later developed into a idea of the long, wide tongue. It was said that the tip of the tongue could reach the ear.

213. This is a single twirl of white hair.

214. This appears in later Buddhist texts as "concealed penis like a horse's."

215. The concealed penis and the golden skin (*kañcanasannibhattaco*) mentioned in the *Dīgha-nikāya* seem to have been rendered from the original verse into prose (R. Otto Franke, *Dīghanikāya: Das Buch der langen Texte des buddhistischen Kanons in Auswahl Übersetzt* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913], p. 88, note 4). See also vol. 2 of this book.

216. "Not hearing the quesitons asked": the original has *pucchaṃ hi kiñci asuṇanto*, but the commentary (*Pj.*, p. 585) interprets this as *pucchaṃ hī ti pucchamānam.* I do not know whether such an interpretation would have been permitted in the ancient language of eastern India, but this interpretation certainly clarifies the meaning substantially.

217. "Ignorance": *avijjā.*

218. "Concentration": *samādhi*, usually translated into Chinese as *ting* (定).

219. *SN*, "Sagāthavagga," II, 1, 9, 6 (vol. 1, p. 50).

220. *Dhp.*, p. 72.

221. "Student": *māṇava*. This usually means a young Brahmin student, but it is not necessarily limited to this meaning. A young bandit is also referred to in this way (*Therag.*, 720).

222. "Put his deerskin over one shoulder": This was a salutation generally practiced among Indian ascetics. Later it influenced the West in the Middle Ages. I have seen a Catholic saint portrayed in this way in the Vatican Museum. A similar figure is carved on Bamberg Cathedral in southern Germany. The people there say that the figure is the prophet Jonas.

223. "Prostrated himself at the feet": *sirasā pati* (= *taṃ muddhānaṃ adhipāteti*; *Pj.*, p. 585).

224. The legend of ascending to heaven and then descending from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods: *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 19 (*T.* 2:134a–b); *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 28 (*T.* 2:703b et seq.); *Fo-shuo Fa-hsien-chuan,* "Seng-chia-shih Country" (*T.* 51:859c); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 4, "Chieh-pi-t'a Country" (*T.* 51:893a–b); Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama,* vol. 1, p. 221; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha,* p. 84; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism,* p. 298; Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bhārhut,* fig. 17.

225. Representations in art: "Descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods": first century B.C.E., Bhārhut, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* pl. 2-75; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 68; Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 8; Sōtarō Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō* [Stone sculptures of ancient India; Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1970], pl. 13; *WOB,* pl. III-32; *ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 32b; Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten,* p. 603, pl. 32); Mathura Museum (N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures* [Mathurā: Archeological Museum, 1966], pl. 28); wall painting, Ajantā, Cave 17 (Osamu Takata, *Ajanta–sekkutsu jiin to hekiga* [Ajantā: Cave temples and their wall paintings; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971], pl. 38); ninth–tenth century, Lucckesarai, Bihar, Patna Museum (*WOB,* pl. III-33); seventeenth century, Tibetan *thang-ka,* Guimet Museum (*WOB,* pl. III-34). "The discourse to Indra": early first century, eastern pillar, north gate, Stūpa 1, Sāñcī (Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten,* p. 601, pl. 25); second–third century, Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 59); second century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 60); second century, Mathurā, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-48); third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 47); first half of second century, Mathurā Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 57); second half of second century, Jamālpur, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 58); ca. second century, Taxila, Taxila Museum (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū,* pl. 62); Kuṣāṇa dynasty, Gandhāra (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū,* pl. 70); Sikri Stūpa, second–third century, Lahore Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pl. 58); third–fourth century, Mamāne Ḍherī, Peshawar Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pl. 59).

226. The legend of the conversion of the *yakkha* Āḷavaka (Skt., Āṭavaka): *Sn.,* I, 10; *SN,* X, 12; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism,* p. 261; Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama,* vol. 1, p. 246.

Representations in art: third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. III-37, 38); third–fourth century, Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (*WOB,* pl. III-39; *Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 53).

227. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* p. 115. Other events cannot be placed precisely at a particular time of the Buddha's life. Noteworthy events are listed here, together with representations in art and textual sources.

The conquest and conversion of the dragon king Apalāla: third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. III-53); third century, Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 40); Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 48); ca.

second–third century, Gandhāra, Kabul Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pl. 54).

The dragon king Elāpattra makes obeisance to the Buddha: mid-second century B.C.E., balustrade, Bhārhut, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 7); second–fourth century, Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (*WOB,* pl. 52, 53); Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 50). Sakyamuni in Pārileyyaka: eleventh century, Ānanda Temple, Burma (*WOB,* pl. III-36). See *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," X, 5; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* p. 35.

The legend of the white dog at Sāvatthī: fourth century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (*WOB,* pl. III-51; pp. 103, 303).

Overcoming the drunken elephant: second half of second century, Amarāvatī, Madras Museum (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* pl. 2-72; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 71; *Indo, Nishi Ajia,* pl. 56; *WOB,* pl. III-57; *ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 87); Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten,* p. 603, pl. 29); second century, Mathurā, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū,* pl. 6); second half of second century, Bhūtesar (Ueno, *Karukatta bijutsukan;* Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 74); ninth–tenth century, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-58); Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 60).

The evil actions of Devadatta: Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-56); Yün-kang Cave 10 (*WOB,* pl. III-59). Assassins sent by Devadatta: Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 59). (It is questionable whether Devadatta actually injured Gotama. I discuss this in *Genshi Bukkyō no seiritsu.*)

King Ajātasattu's repentance and conversion: second century B.C.E., Bhārhut, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-60); second century, Amarāvatī, Madras Museum (*WOB,* pl. III-61); second century, Amarāvatī, British Museum (*WOB,* pl. III-62). See Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 2 (Rome: IsMEO, 1978), pp. 135–36, 154–63, 251f.; *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 17 (*T.* 1:107a–9c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 17 (*T.* 24:187c); Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha,* p. 90. The invitation and conversion of Śrīgupta: second–third century, Gandhāra, National Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-46); third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. III-45).

Tale of Jyotiṣka: third century, Gandhāra, National Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-47). See *Vinaya,* "Cullavagga," V, 8; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* p. 32, n. 4.

The conversion of King Kappina: third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. III-50; *Nagarj.,* p. 53, pl. VI). See *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," II, 5–9; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* p. 82.

Schism in the community: *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," X, 1, 1; 2, 2–10; *Jātaka,* vol. 3, p. 486; Cowell, *Jātaka,* vol. 3, p. 280; *Dhp.,* p. 103; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 2, pp. 204–5; *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 24 (*T.* 22:158c–60a).

Overcoming the schism: *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," X, 4–5; *Dhp.,* p. 107; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 2, pp. 205–10; Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama,* vol. 1, p. 236; *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 24 (*T.* 22:160a–b).

The conversion of the landholder Bhāradvāja: *Sn.*, I, 4; *SN*, VII, 2, 1; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 214; Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, vol. 1, p. 226.

The eighth rainy-season retreat in the country of Bharga: *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," V, 21.

228. *MN*, no. 89, *Dhammacetiya-sutta* (vol. 2, pp. 118–25); *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 59 (213): *Fa-chuang-yen-ching* (*T.* 1:795b–97c).

229. The Chinese translation (*T.* 1:797b) adds the line "I am king of a country; Śākyamuni is also king of the Dharma."

230. The Sanskrit version of Viḍūḍabha is unclear. In form it is close to the name of Prasenajit's general Virūḍhaka (*Divyāv.*, p. 77, l. 27; p. 466, l. 23). Edgerton's dictionary says that it appears in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (Gilgit manuscripts), part 4, p. 63, l. 7. In the *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 26 (T. 2:690b) the transliterations Bi-liu-le (毘流勒) and Bi-liu-li (毘流離) are consistent with Virūḍhaka. The legend of the usurpation of Viḍūḍabha: *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 24:238b–40c); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (section on Śrāvastī).

The legend of the annihilation of the Śākyas: *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 21 (*T.* 22:140c–41c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 41 (*T.* 22:860b–61a).

231. *MN*, no. 87, *Piyajātika-sutta* (vol. 2, pp. 110–11); *MN*, no. 90, *Kaṇṇakatthala-sutta* (vol. 2, pp. 127–30).

232. Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, pp. 767–68.

233. *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 26 (*T.* 2:690a–93c).

234. *Bhaddasāla-jātaka* (no. 465), *Jātaka*, vol. 4, pp. 144–53.

235. The *Nidānakathā* mentions a third time, but the *Tseng-i a-han-ching* (fasc. 26) does not.

236. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:900b–c).

237. I deal with this issue in my *Genshi Bukkyō no shakai shisō* (Social thought of early Buddhism), vol. 18 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1993).